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## EDITOR'S NOTE.

IT has been decided by the Managing Committee that the excavations of the British School in Melos, which have been proceeding for four seasons, shall be intermitted in order that the favourable opportunity now offered in Crete may be utilised: and a complete publication of Phylakopi up to date is to appear shortly in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. In view of this project the report on Melos in this issue of the *Annual* has been limited to a very brief statement. The Report on the Naukratis exploration, however, is final as far as it goes, and will not be supplemented elsewhere by us except in the event of another and last campaign being undertaken a year or two hence on the site. It will be seen, therefore, that the disproportion in the scale of the two reports has no necessary relation to the importance of the explorations to which they respectively refer.

D. G. HOGARTH



## EXCAVATIONS IN MELOS, 1899.

### A.

#### THE SEASON'S WORK.

BY D. MACKENZIE.

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§ 1.—THE interest of the excavation at Phylakopi in 1898 reached its climax just at the close of the season with the discovery in a small room in G 2 of the "Fishermen Vase" (lamp-stand), and with the equally interesting find in a house in G 3 of part of a wall-painting of flying fish (*B.S.A.* 1897-8, pp. 26-7). The south part of this region had to be left unfinished when excavation came to an end last year and it was desirable that, before we proceeded to any other undertaking, this piece of work should be completed.

On reference to the plan, it will be seen that the N.E. part of G 3 is taken up with an apparently domestic building containing a room with a square pillar near its east wall. This house was the one in which last year were discovered, in the room with the pillar, the fresco-fragments with flying fish. It was said in the report of last year's excavation (*B.S.A.* 1897-8, p. 37) that, on our coming to the base of the pillar and to the level of the threshold, the supply of stucco fragments came suddenly to an end. Nothing could more clearly mark the existence of a well-defined floor level on which the stucco must have fallen when the house to which it belonged had been abandoned and fallen into decay, than the fact that this year no single fragment of the stucco was found on our digging down below the level of the base of the square pillar. Apart from the existence of a cross-wall belonging to an earlier system going east and west, below the level of the base of the pillar,

and carried down to the rock, there was nothing further of interest to record.

To the W. of the house with the wall-stucco is another house, or part of a house, having a square pillar in one of its rooms, the pillar being in this case monolithic. This room had been dug the previous year down to the base of the pillar. Further excavation now only brought to light the usual earlier walls, one of which in particular crossed from E. to W. under the base of the pillar to reappear in the next space to the W. In the deposit contiguous to this early wall (*i.e.* 2 m. down) in the room with the monolithic pillar were found two pouring-saucers of the usual Melian type (cited *B.S.A.* 1897-8, p. 43), with geometric pattern on the rim in lustreless black on a white slip. The discovery of these specimens in pre-Theraean deposit confirms the view of last year that a type of vase, which henceforth has a continuous development at Phylakopi, is akin to the early geometric ware of the second period.

Apart from isolated finds the region in G 3 to the S. of the houses with the pillars presented no features of special interest. Here were found (m. 1.10 down) a fragment of a double-spouted terra-cotta Mycenaean lamp, the bust of a Mycenaean terra-cotta idol of the usual type, and a rather shallow cup with meander on the rim and double spirals on the body in lustreless black on a pale slip on thin red clay. This kind of cup, either small and shallow or large and deep, the latter variety having usually a flower- or bird-panel on the side away from the holder, is quite characteristic of what we have called the Theraean period at Phylakopi and never occurs earlier. The best specimen of the deeper variety was found afterwards at E 3, and had on the usual panel a bird with flapping wings in profile to the right.

The room in G 2, in which last year had been found the important lamp-stand with "Fishermen," had only been excavated down to the level of the tough flooring immediately above which the find in question had been made. This and the adjoining space to the W. were now completely excavated. In this latter space, at a depth of 2.70 and in deposit which elsewhere on the site always characterised the second settlement, were found fragments of a type of vase which, with the exception of one solitary fragment, had been up till then unrepresented at Phylakopi. These were parts of a *kernos* with broad vertical bands in dull black on a pale

slip. One vase of the *kernos* was found whole ; fragments of three more were found in the same deposit. Quite appropriately fragments of an incised and hand-polished vase of the duck form were found in the same environment, and this is the kind of ware that has hitherto at Phylakopi been most closely associated with the painted geometric ware which the *kernos* type most closely resembles in its clay and ornamentation. For some account of *kernoi*, probably derived from Melos see *B.S.A.* III, pp. 57-61.

In the next space to the N. of the one which yielded the *kernos* fragments, were found, at a depth of 3 m., fragments of a curious vase pierced all over its body with holes. The vessel, which had an elongated neck, sealed at the top and surmounted by a basket-handle, was of porous red clay covered on the outside with a pale slip on which in lustreless black were painted rings encircling the holes. Circles are a not unusual ornamentation in the geometric period though here they are really motivated by the holes they surround, and the ware, slip and paint are quite in keeping with the deposit in which the fragments were found.

In F 2 is a space which last year had been cleared down to a tough Mycenaean flooring. The room had a door with threshold at its S.W. corner opening into an outside passage. At the end of the passage eastward is a door-like space in the continuation southward of the E. wall of the room, and here excavation brought into view a drain-end going through the door-like space, and evidently meant to empty water into the Mycenaean drain which runs N. outside the E. wall of the room, and then turns W. outside the N. wall of the same room on its way towards the edge of the cliff. Below the level of this flooring nothing of interest turned up until the deposit underlying a second floor-level was reached ; but here was found entire a large open jug, widening towards the rim, and having a spout opposite the handle. On it were painted broad bands forming a trellis-like pattern in lustreless black on a white slip. Fragments of a second jug of the same unique class were found later on in the same deposit. To the same company belong two pouring-saucers of the usual type, with geometric pattern in lustreless black on a pale slip round the rim. Here also was found one member of what must have been coupled vases, a simple form of *kernos*. On the red clay is a pale slip, on which are painted round the shoulder large dots in lustreless black. On one side was the break on the surface, which marked the attachment of the

other vase. Later at H 2 was found in similar deposit a complete specimen.

The outcome of excavation on the unfinished parts of G 2, 3, only went once more to confirm our constant experience that spaces of apparently no architectural interest often yield important finds in pottery. Thus it always happens that a space which has been sufficiently excavated for the general purposes of a plan has to be cleared to the foundation if we are to be sure that we have not missed some unique find which may be of much more intrinsic importance than the mere plan of a simple room like that in which was found, for example, the lampstand with fishermen.

§ 2. Before the excavation of G 3 was completed, work was begun on Wednesday, 20th April, in the region contiguous to the "Mycenaean house," referred to in the report of last year, *B.S.A.*, 1897-8, pp. 31-2. This "house" itself formed the most individual feature in this whole region, and a special interest was attached to it, because deep down in a trial trench sunk here in 1898 were found specimens of a more primitive class of pottery than had as yet been discovered at Phylakopi (*see B.S.A.*, 1897-8, p. 20). One special object of excavation in this region was to find out, if possible, over what area this evidence of the earliest settlement at Phylakopi extended. It is an instance showing how very provisional plans of excavation must always be that what we really discovered was not further evidence of this earliest settlement, but the "Mycenaean Palace" or *Megaron* of Phylakopi. This important discovery, the central interest of the excavation of 1899, was a surprise to everybody, especially as on the analogy of other similar sites it was natural to assume that such a palace must have been somewhere on the higher ground at the W. end of the site, possibly even on some part of the region which has been destroyed through the action of the sea. One result of excavation has thus been gradually to shift the centre of interest from the high ground at the W. end to the lower neighbourhood of the palace and the harbour at the E. end of the site. In this respect the analogy of an inland citadel like Tiryns no longer holds for Phylakopi.

It has been mentioned in the report (*B.S.A.*, 1897-8, p. 32), that along the W. side of the "Mycenaean house" in J 1, 2, runs a long corridor from S. to N. It was the excavation of the region W. of this corridor that led to the discovery of the Mycenaean palace above referred to. The first hint

of anything extraordinary was the appearance, in line running W. from the S. end of the corridor, of two huge blocks of stone of a size and character quite unique on the site. The surfaces of the blocks were cleared W., and bounding them in that direction was found a large well-squared *poros* block (*see* plan, H 2). The long blocks were now seen to have formed a wide double threshold, and the square *poros* block was probably the base of a wooden *anta*. If this last supposition be true, there must have been originally a similar block bounding the threshold on the E. and since removed; and our conjecture is supported by the fact that the wall running S., in line with which such a block was to be expected, is broken away at the part where the block should have come.<sup>1</sup> The preserved block was found to have its surface, for a depth of about a foot, covered with charred wood, and among the wood cinders was found, much corroded, a bronze object, like three nails stuck together. It seems probable that the wood cinders were due to some wooden construction like an *anta* surmounting the stone basis. The space immediately to the N. of the threshold was then cleared (*cf. infra*, p. 13) and under the Antechamber, which had no cement flooring, we went down to the rock. Thus we were able to see that the foundations of the Palace were laid much deeper than is usual with Mycenaean structures on this site. Two early walls run N. and S. below the floor-level of the Antechamber, and it was found that these had been broken across when the wall in which the threshold of the *Megaron* occurs was built. From this circumstance it will be likewise at once apparent that the Mycenaean Palace, unlike the Mycenaean buildings in G 3 (cited *B.S.A.* 1897-8, p. 26) in no sense repeats the plan of the earlier system. Under this system itself again still earlier walls, of the second settlement, made their appearance, resting on the rock, which is here at a depth of 3·80 from the surface. In the deposit, contiguous to the early walls which underlie the *Megaron*, were found several vases, which are to be definitely assigned to the geometric class (*B.S.A.*, 1897-8, pp. 42-3). To be cited are two cups with geometric pattern in lustreless black on a pale slip on red clay, the couple-vase mentioned, p. 6, as well as one member of two other couple-vases, a very handsome pouring-saucer of the usual Melian type, and a deeper shape of saucer of an allied type, covered all over the surface with a thin white wash. Here, however,

<sup>1</sup> Two similar *anta*-bases are a characteristic feature of the palace portico at Tiryns.

no fragment of the primitive pottery of the earliest class was found for which we were on the look-out; and we are now in a position to affirm that such pottery exists nowhere at Phylakopi to the west of the corridor separating the public from the private apartments of the palace. It was stated in the report of the excavation of 1898 (*B.S.A.*, 1897-8, p. 20), that the only place where such pottery had been discovered on the site was in the trial trench sunk at the "Mycenaean house" in J 1, 2, and it began to look now as if this earliest settlement would have to be given up entirely.

§ 3.—We expected that the region S. of the palace, on the analogy of other similar sites, would prove to be some open court-yard, and on proceeding now, as our next task, to the excavation of this whole space we found no Mycenaean walls at all until as far S. as the street with drain, which had been partially excavated here in 1898. Nowhere else on the site did there happen to be so large a space free of Mycenaean walls, and since there was no impediment in the shape of causeway or pavement of any interest, there seemed here a good opportunity for clearing with greater ease than elsewhere the plan of structures belonging to the third settlement. It turned out that we discovered better examples of architecture of the third settlement elsewhere, and what really proved of interest here was the discovery, in the courtyard, of the palace well at a point almost due S. of the anta-basis mentioned on p. 7 (see plan, H 3, a, *cf. infra*, pp. 13, 14). The sherds found in clearing this well were exclusively Mycenaean.

We shall conclude what we have to say at this point about the Mycenaean palace by mentioning that the space to the N. of the *Megaron*, between its N. wall and the edge of the cliff, was excavated towards the close of the season, and that the Mycenaean structures in it were found to belong to the system of the palace, and more probably to the private than to the public apartments. The large room marked on the plan H J 1, 1, in view of its size and the importance of the long corridor, which leads towards it, may possibly have been the *Megaron* of the women.

The next region to be tried was that lying between the spot where the primitive pottery of the previous year had been found and the shore to the N. The rock surface falls very rapidly in this region, and it will be recollected that in the trial trench in J 1-2, where the earliest Phylakopi pottery was found, the rock was at a depth of 6.50 from the surface (*B.S.A.*,

1897-8, p. 20). The wall constructions in this region next the shore have been much washed away through the action of the surge, so that they present a steep section of all the different deposits at one view. It was possible to excavate here at once on the rock surface, and no sooner was a trial made than the primitive pottery began to make its appearance. Thus, although the existence of our earliest settlement cannot be proved anywhere W. of the palace corridor, there can be no longer any doubt of it in the region between the trial trench in J 1 and the shore in K 1. It still remains to be seen how far the settlement extended eastward.<sup>1</sup>

The courtyard of the palace is bounded on the S. by a narrow street with a drain running eastward down the middle of it, the drain being covered in with ironstone slates, which must in turn have been overlaid with earth, for they show no marks of wearing. The region S. of this street in H 3, J 3, was explored as far S. as the S. wall of a Mycenaean passage-way, which, with doors right and left, runs E. and W. in the S. part of this region. The complication of walls, however, rendered excavation extremely difficult, and with the exception of the passage-way, nothing of exceptional interest is to be reported. Excavation further E. or S. was not deemed advisable for the time being, for there still remained unexcavated the interval, in H 2, H 3, between the region G 2, G 3, containing the fresco-house on the one hand, and the Mycenaean palace with its courtyard on the other.

The results of the explorations in this quarter are stated *infra* pp. 11-14, but I may mention here that in a room (H 2, 8) at 2 m. down was made the singular discovery of an ivory Mycenaean ring, with a perfectly preserved representation of a woman in profile to the right, engaged in some ritual celebration before an altar-like object.

At the end of the season we tested the unexcavated regions S. and E. of the Mycenaean palace. In H 4, S. of the palace, a trial trench brought into view the usual threefold stratification with particularly good walls of the Mycenaean period underlying soil m. 1 deep.

In the test trench in L 4 at the E. end of the site we came upon an unexpected hindrance in the shape of the continuation eastward of the Mycenaean drain in the street bounding the palace court to the S. The

<sup>1</sup> The discovery of traces of the earliest settlement on ground partly covered by the palace may point to a continuity of tradition always connecting the centre of gravity at Phylakopi with the harbour at the E. end of the site.

discovery afforded evidence in favour of the hypothesis (*B.S.A.* 1897-8, p. 8), that the sea originally stretched much further inland than at present, and that this drain flowed eastward into it.

*B.*

THE STRUCTURES

BY T. D. ATKINSON.

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The excavations this year proved to be of considerable interest, so far as the architecture was concerned. Besides the Palace several complete private houses were found, and the streets were followed up far enough to enable us to guess at the system on which the town had been laid out. Several houses of the third settlement can be made out, but there are only slight indications of its streets. So far as they can be traced, however, they seem to coincide roughly with those of the fourth settlement. With the fourth settlement itself the opposite is the case—the streets can be traced, but there are not quite so many complete houses as in the third settlement. In a few cases, perhaps, a street or house of the earlier period continued in use in the later; but generally speaking this is not the case, and where a later wall is built on the top of an earlier one, it was probably in order to obtain a more solid foundation.

SECOND SETTLEMENT.

A good many fragments of walls were exposed; they are distributed over the whole site. The buildings appear to have been at a fair distance from one another, and not huddled together as they were in the two later periods. What may, perhaps, be considered a complete house, consisting of a single room, is seen at J 2, 8. The building is a plain parallelogram, measuring inside about 3·40 metres by 1·90 metres. The walls are 60 metres thick, and are built upon the rock. They stand to a height of about 1·15 metres. There is no door visible now; it is, perhaps, obscured

by later work. There are slight remains of another building at J 2, d, which are also interesting.

The work of this period is all built upon the rock. The remains are so scanty that it would be rash to attempt any generalisations as to the methods of construction. The walls are built chiefly of small stones, and are covered with a sort of earthy plaster. One of the walls of the room, H 2, 4, is faced with thin slabs of stone of irregular shape stuck up against it, and the floor of the room is of the same character.

### THIRD SETTLEMENT.

Several houses of this period were uncovered, so that, with those found last year, we have about ten which appear to be complete so far as the plans are concerned. The most perfect of these is the building J 2, 9, and J 3, 2-4. Assuming that this building is all one house, it may be said to consist of an outer room or porch (3) about 2·75 metres by 1·50 metres leading to an inner room (2) 3·35 metres by 2·25 metres with a passage (4) along the east side leading to two small rooms (9) at the back. In general arrangement, therefore, it resembles the Palace of the Fourth Settlement, to be presently described, though no inference must be drawn from this fact, for the rooms are, if anything, rather smaller than most rooms of the Third Settlement. The walls remain standing to an average height of 3·30 metres (about seven feet 6 inches), and show no traces of windows. They average 70 metre thick.

A few yards to the west of this is another house, not dissimilar in plan (H 2, 17; H 3, 5-7). There is no porch in this instance, but there is the room at the back (H 2, 17), and the broken wall which divides it from the front room (H 3, 5) may have contained a doorway. There are two very narrow rooms (6, 7) on the east side; one of these (6) has no doorway at all, and the other does not communicate directly with the rooms already mentioned.

The building in H 1, numbered 1-5, presents a different type. It appears to be a pair of semi-detached houses. Both are entered from a corridor or vestibule (H 2, 1) common to the two, which has a single doorway leading to the street (2). Each house appears to have originally consisted of a single room, which was afterwards divided into two by a cross wall (a, b). The wall which separated the two houses is pierced by a doorway

but it does not appear whether this was the original arrangement or an afterthought. The group J 2, 4-7 shows an exactly similar arrangement, except that the common vestibule is omitted. H 2, 15; H 3, 3, 4, 8, seems to be intermediate between this type and that first described.

The methods of construction employed do not become very clear till the walls have been washed by a winter's rain. It would seem, however, that they vary a good deal in different buildings. The walls are well built and average '75 metre in thickness. In some cases quoins are not used at the angles, which are built instead of small stones and slightly rounded. Mortar is not used, but the walls are sometimes covered with an earthy plaster like that of the Second Period, and in one place there seems to have been a very thin finishing coat of lime plaster.

Three perfect doorways remain—that is, doorways existing to their full height, and with the wall carried over them; of all other doors shown on the plan only the jambs, to a greater or less height, remain. These three doorways are respectively '45 metre, '60 metre, and '65 metre wide, and 1'25 metre, 1'70 metre, and 1'40 metre high. In each case some stones have fallen from the head of the doorway, leaving it of an irregular arched form. But no arch-construction was used, nor any lintel, nor, I think, was the walling even gradually "gathered over" to support itself over the opening. I imagine that the masonry was simply built round and over a stout timber door-frame, though of course there are now no vestiges of this.

It will be noticed that while most of the walls are of nearly the same thickness, namely about '65, some few are just double as thick. These thick walls are probably in every case two walls built side by side, dividing different tenements. It seems to have been the custom, where two houses adjoined, to build, not a "party-wall," which would serve for both, but a separate wall for each. This method sometimes assists us in dividing the somewhat confused mass of buildings into separate houses. In some cases the walls are quite distinct, and a space of a few inches is left between. These remarks apply also to buildings of the Fourth Period.

#### FOURTH SETTLEMENT.

The town of the latest period, so far as it has been exposed, was divided by streets parallel to one another running east and west, connected by others at right angles to them. (G 2, a; G 3, 1; H 2, 2, 10; H 3, 9, 10;

J 2, f; J 3, 6.) These streets average from 1 metre to 1.50 metre wide. Some alleys do not exceed .75 metre, but these were probably constructed for purposes of drainage only, and had an open space on one or both sides. Drains (shown by dotted lines in the plan) were found in several places; they were formed by flat slabs of stone resting on two rows of stonework, thus forming a rough square conduit, varying from .18 metre to .35 metre (six to twelve inches) square. The sudden changes of level in some streets probably indicate the positions of flights of steps; retaining walls found in connexion with them also indicate that the ground was formed into terraces. Analogous arrangements in modern towns are numerous.

The houses were, no doubt, somewhat tightly packed, but they were probably not crowded together quite so closely as the plan would at first suggest. Probably many of the enclosed spaces, which now have the appearance of rooms, were, in reality, open courts.

The most interesting architectural find of this year was the Palace (H 1, H 2, J 1, J 2). This building stands on the north side of a courtyard about 15 metres square.<sup>1</sup> It consists of a hall (J 2, 1,) with a portico (J 2, 3,) at the south end; a series of small rooms (J 1, 2; J 2, 2) on the east side with a passage (d) between them and the hall; another room (J 1, 1) at the north end; and a passage (H 2, 3) along the west side. The side walls of the portico remain, and at the end of one of them there is a large block of stone,—the base, presumably, of the *anta*. The outer step (J 2, c,) also remains, but there are no indications of columns. From the portico the hall is entered by a doorway (J 2, b,) 2.25 metres wide with the threshold still *in situ*. The hall (J 2, 1,) is 8.50 metres long by 6 metres wide. The floor is formed of a layer of concrete not more than one inch thick. In the middle of the room there is a rectangular space (a) not covered with concrete but with hardened clay; this without doubt indicates the position and size of the hearth. The walls, which stand to a height of .25 metre above the floor, contain no traces of any other doorway besides that already mentioned. Some of the small rooms on the east side have floors like that of the hall.

On the west side of the courtyard there is a well sunk through the rock. The rubbish which filled it was cleared out to a depth of 9 metres, but thereupon the water came in so fast that the work had to be given up.

<sup>1</sup> The courtyard extended over the space formerly occupied by the buildings of the Third Period, numbered H 2, 17; H 3, 5-7; J 2, 8; J 3, 1, 5.

But the interesting feature about the well was the remains of a lining of earthenware cylinders. These measured .75 metre in diameter and 1 metre high. One rim of each pipe was shaped into a socket, so that the lengths would fit into one another. In the sides there were "hand-holes," so that a man could climb down when necessary to clean out the well, or for other purposes.

The other buildings of the Fourth Period which were found this year were not of special interest. What appears to have been a row of small houses was uncovered (H 2, 4, 6, 8, 13, 14; H 3, 1, 2). Several parts left incompletely excavated in former years were finished, so that what had appeared to be sheer confusion became quite plain.

### C.

## THE POTTERY.

BY C. C. EDGAR.

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In a report which appeared in the last number of the *British School Annual* I gave a short description, in chronological order, of the main classes of pottery found at Phylakopi, and tried to indicate their place in the history of Aegean art. I shall not attempt in the present paper to write a fuller and more accurate account on the same lines. The proper place for that will be in the final publication. All I propose to do now is to make a few desultory notes of a general character on the finds of this last season.

The supply of pottery was as abundant this year as ever. To give an idea of how closely the soil is packed with it, I find on a rough calculation that an average day's work yielded somewhere between ten thousand and twenty thousand fragments. The experience gained in the preceding season made this large daily harvest much more easy to deal with. Owing to the continual recurrence of the same forms and the same designs, it was a very small proportion of the whole amount that required to be picked out and preserved. Unfortunately the site (which is known in the neigh

bourhood as 'στὸν καπνόν because of the white spray that blows over it whenever there is a strong north wind) is permeated with salt, and the action of the salt has of course had a ruinous effect on much of the painted pottery. Thus scarcely a fragment of the delicate Kamarais ware retains any of its original brightness.

As was shown in last year's report, the Phylakopi pottery falls apart most naturally into four main divisions, which it may be convenient to recapitulate here :—

1. Primitive pottery of the same kind as that which is found in the cist-tombs of the other Cyclades, hand-polished, sometimes incised, but not painted.

2. Painted pottery with geometric designs.

3. Painted pottery with spiral, floral, and naturalistic designs, corresponding in many respects with the prehistoric pottery found in Thera.

4. Imported Mycenaean pottery of the third and fourth styles according to Furtwaengler and Loeschke's division.

Such are the main distinguishable periods. It may be as well to add that a vertical section through the mound would not disclose four distinct strata of potsherds cleanly divided each from the other. The diagram in *B.S.A.* iv. p. 48, shows how the divisions overlap in such a section. Nor again can we draw a sharp line between the deposits of two successive settlements. Even where we have two distinct floor-levels, the one perhaps ten ft. above the other, we cannot tell precisely how the intervening débris has accumulated. But as to the relative sequence of the main fabrics there is neither doubt nor difficulty.

As regards the primitive pottery of the cist-tomb type there is nothing for me to remark except that it was again discovered to be fairly plentiful within a limited area of the site (cf. p. 9) and that it lay at a lower level than any other kind.

For the ensuing period some new and interesting material came to light this season. Among the strictly geometric patterns a number of fragments were found with representations of birds, fishes, quadrupeds (of no very distinct species), human beings and even ships. They are all painted in dull black on a dead white ground; the forms on which they occur, e.g. the beaked jug with the end of the handle stuck through the side, are characteristic of the geometric period; in short they belong to one of the earlier Melian fabrics. The drawing is thoroughly "geometric" in character, as

unlike as could be to the free style of the following stage of art. Thus the trunk of a man is represented by an isosceles triangle with its base uppermost. The bodies of birds and men are filled in with cross-hatched lines like lattice-work,—a convention which reappears in the archaic period of Greek pottery (*eg.* Pottier, *Vases ant. du Louvre*, pl. 11, A 290). It is not at all probable that this small class of animal representations is merely a local phenomenon; they have all the appearance of being drawn from well-established conventional types. A carelessly executed fragment from the Kamarais cave in Crete is a late offspring of the same style. And I have little doubt that both in Crete and Greece there is much material of a similar character underneath the soil.

The geometric class to which the fragments in question belong is as a whole pre-Mycenaean. But the resemblance between the animal representations on these and the animal representations on the post-Mycenaean geometric fabrics is unmistakable and suggestive. It certainly adds a further degree of probability to the growing belief that the latter are of native origin and were not brought down ready-made from the north. As regards Melos itself I think there are sufficient indications that the primitive geometric pottery was entirely superseded and did not develop into a later style parallel to the so-called "Dipylon" ware.<sup>1</sup> But there remains a great likelihood that similar pre-Mycenaean fabrics in other parts of Greece have left their mark on the "Dipylon" and the other geometric styles of the later period. Even such "Füllornamente" as the star and the short zigzag line are anticipated on the Melian vases.

On the other hand it must not be supposed that the early geometric pottery had no connection with, or influence on, the fabrics which immediately succeed it. On the contrary many of its shapes and much of its ornamentation still survived in a more or less modified form. It is unnecessary to point out the many obvious instances of this: to take a single, more recondite example, the far-fetched pattern in *Myk. Vas.* pl. xxxv. 360, 1, may be partly traced back to a row of geometric birds as represented on one of our Phylakopi fragments.

The "letters" or potters' marks, of which a large number were published last year (*B.S.A.* iv. p. 12), were again found in abundance. It should be

<sup>1</sup> There is not enough of material to show whether or not in the later period Melos had a distinctive geometric fabric of its own. Much of the geometric pottery discovered there was certainly imported. Even Boeotian ware has been found in some of the tombs.

noted that they are never to be seen on any of the later types of pottery. The same is true of the mat-impressions on vase-bottoms, scores of which were again obtained. The most natural explanation is that the mats were used for drying the vases on before baking; but Mr. Myres has suggested that the heavier vessels may have been *turned* on them. We do not need to assume that they were not used in more than one way. In several instances I observed traces of a mat-impression inside the hollow foot of a pot, which shows that the body of the vessel had been in contact with the mat before the foot was made. It is noticeable that the impressions occur on the plainer ware only: the finer, painted vases of the same period have invariably a flat, smoothed base. The mats were plaited in various ways; sometimes the reeds are interlaced at right angles to each other; sometimes the warp is laid like the spokes of a wheel and the woof is woven through it circularly. When the mat was of the latter form the vase was always placed with the centre of its base on the centre of the mat.

The pottery of the third period can be divided into several classes on the ground of differences in clay, paint, and shapes. Thus the vases on which the design is painted in dull black only belong as a rule to an earlier stage, although this by itself is not a sufficient criterion. But it would be a waste of labour to enter on these distinctions here. The general characteristics of the art of this period have been touched upon in a former report (*B.S.A.* iv. pp. 41 ff.). The naturalism and life of the representations—particularly the bright flowers and the hovering birds—are in sharp contrast with the stiff geometric schemes on the one hand and on the other hand with the fully developed Mycenaean style in which ornamentation has run to seed.

This Melian pottery forms one branch, and much the finest branch as yet known, of a style which is elder cousin to the Mycenaean style proper. Farther study, too, of this cognate style prevalent in Melos, Thera, and other places will in all likelihood make it still more apparent how much of archaic Greek ornamentation is an inheritance from the prehistoric art that flourished in Greek lands. Thus, to take a question which has been lately raised and correctly discussed by Boehlau (*Ion. v. Ital. Nekr.* p. 65), the derivation of the crescent pattern so characteristic of the "Fikellura" vases is placed beyond doubt when we find it to be one of the most common devices on the Melian pottery of this period—although, perhaps

by a mere chance, it has not been found on any fragment of the widely exported Mycenaean ware.

As was to be expected, there are evident traces of Egyptian influence on the decorative art of this age. Perhaps the most striking example is a pattern which consists of two horizontal and parallel lines of spirals with the space between each opposite pair of spirals filled by a spreading flower (cf. Petrie, *Eg. Dec. Art.* p. 30). This indeed is the prototype of certain designs on archaic Greek pottery and bronzes (e.g. Furtw. *Bronzefunde* pl. I. 8 and p. 44), all of which are less distinctively Egyptian. The flower is not a mere copy of the lotos but is almost certainly evolved out of it. There are a few striking details of this kind in Aegean art which are acknowledged to be direct imitations of Egyptian designs; but how much more is indirectly due to the same influence?

The fourth stage in the history of pottery at Phylakopi is characterised by the ascendancy of the imported Mycenaean ware. The contents of the well in the courtyard of the palace (*see* p. 8) show better than any other test how complete this ascendancy had finally become: only three painted pieces of native pottery were found in it: all the rest was Mycenaean.

It may be asked on what grounds we distinguish so confidently between native and imported pottery. A chemical analysis would be decisive on this point, if such definite results as were obtained by M. Fouqué in Santorin could again be arrived at. But that was a very exceptional case; and I think that even without the verdict of analysis there is little room for doubt. It would be quite unreasonable to suppose that a well-populated island like Melos, full of excellent beds of clay, should have manufactured no pottery of its own. The ordinary household ware, the heavy *pithoi*, for instance, standing four or five feet high, and the little cups which lay scattered about the site in thousands—that all this was imported is almost as improbable as that the stones of which the houses are made were not quarried in Melos itself. And if the ordinary unornamented pottery is home-made, the great mass of the painted pottery must also be home-made, because it is composed of exactly the same kind of clay. The Mycenaean ware, on the other hand, is of an unmistakably different fabric, as one could tell by touch alone. Further, a comparison between the forms and ornamentation of the two wares shows plainly that there is no *immediate* connection between the two; the Melian style is not the

mother of the Mycenaean, but only a near relation—one of its aunts, so to say.

The Mycenaean, however, was by no means the only kind of imported pottery found at Phylakopi. Numerous other fabrics were represented, both known and unknown. The Kamarais ware has been already spoken of. Goblets of dark grey clay, of a class which is found on many pre-historic sites in the Aegean, and which is very similar in fabric to the later "Lesbian" ware discovered at Naukratis, were very common at Phylakopi. A few fragments of a semi-spherical white-slip bowl were the only indication of commerce with Cyprus. We also came upon pottery of the same class as some that was found in the shaft-tombs at Mycenae, the best specimen being a globular jug adorned with a band of painted birds, almost a replica of F. and L., *Myk. Th.* pl. IX. 44. The painted pottery found along with this jug was almost all Melian of the later type; there was also a piece of Kamarais ware, the fragments of the Cypriote bowl just mentioned, and a fragment or two of Mycenaean fabric.

## SOME DOUBTFUL POINTS OF THESSALIAN TOPOGRAPHY.

BY C. D. EDMONDS.

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THE object of this paper is to endeavour to attach their right names to the ancient sites which lie close to the Peneios on either side of the river in its course from Trikkala to Larissa.

The first site which we reach in travelling down stream is that of Palaeo-Gardiki, halfway between Trikkala and Zarkos, close to the high road, on the left bank of the river, which is here some six kilometres distant. On a small spur of the mountains, with which it is only connected by a narrow neck or spur which slopes down to the plain, lie the remains of an ancient acropolis with walls built of both polygonal and ashlar masonry. In front of the acropolis in the plain the remains of a city of no small extent are visible. The walls of ashlar masonry remain to a height of four or five courses, and the foundations of houses and public buildings are clearly marked. The name Palaeo-Gardiki comes from a Byzantine village, Gardiki, which once stood upon the acropolis, but of which no traces now remain except the ruined church. In front of the city lies a marsh, which, combined with the mountain behind, makes the position very strong.

Six kilometres further down stream on the left bank, within one kilometre of the river, rises a long double-peaked rock, from 170 to 200 metres high, immediately above the village of Klokoto. On the western and smaller peak is an ancient acropolis, from which a wall runs eastward along the ridge joining the peaks until the ground begins to rise for the other summit, where the wall turns and goes down southward into the plain. The masonry is ashlar, except in some later remains of Byzantine

date. Though no traces of buildings are now visible it is certain from the shape of the wall that a city must have lain in the plain to the south of the acropolis and wall, stretching probably down to the river.

Almost immediately opposite, across the river, four or five kilometres distant, lies another long rock near the village of Kortiki. The northern end is low ; the other rises to a height of about 250 metres, and upon it is a small ancient acropolis of rough polygonal masonry upon which is superimposed some later work. No traces of buildings are visible outside the fortress upon the hill, nor signs of any levelling or cutting of the rock which would be a necessary preliminary to construction. Nor are there any remains in the plain beneath ; indeed, the existence of such remains would be impossible, for the country round is in winter one vast marsh, except where Kortiki stands two kilometres distant, and separated from the hill by the swamps.

Four kilometres away to the south-east, on the left bank of the ancient Apidanus, and near the village of Vlokho, a curious semispherical rocky hill rises to a height of about 280 metres, a conspicuous object from all points of the western Thessalian plain. Upon the top of this is a large acropolis of rough polygonal masonry with subsidiary protecting walls, and a zig-zag roadway cut in the face of the hillside, though this perhaps is of later date. At the foot of this, where the ground is firm by the river on the site of Vlokho, there probably existed a town, whence come the Doric drums and other ancient fragments to be found in the neighbouring villages.

A fifth site is at Zarkos, three kilometres to the north of the river Peneios, where it enters the Kalamaki defile. Above the village lies a small height separated from the mountain behind. The top, where now stands a church of St. Elias, is encircled by a wall of accurately jointed polygonal masonry. To the south of this acropolis, close under the perpendicular cliffs of the mountain, are foundations of Hellenic buildings covering a considerable extent of ground.

Six kilometres further down stream, where a break in the defile leads out into the Larissaeon plain, is another ancient site upon a spur of the mountain which runs down to the right bank of the river. The site is known as the Palaeo-kastro of Alifaka, from the village of that name close by. Upon the sloping spur are the upper city and acropolis with walls of polygonal masonry, rough in parts, in other places carefully jointed. In the

plain on either side of the spur lie the foundations of the walls and buildings of the lower city. The remains of Byzantine walls also are mixed with the Hellenic masonry.

A good way further down the stream at the point where the river finally issues from the defile into the plain, on the left bank, opposite the village of Gunitza, is yet another ancient site called Sidhero-Peliko. The remains, though inconsiderable, are extensive and are evidently those of a Hellenic city; for in the plain and on the slope of the hill are numerous squared stones and fragments of pottery and the foundations of a wall, and on the summit above, an extremely strong position by nature, are the remains of another wall.

Let us return once more to the site of Palaeo-Gardiki. Leake, Bursian, Heuzey and Daumet, and Lolling, agree in considering this to be the site of Pelinna, while Kiepert, followed by Philippson, puts Limnaeon here and Pelinna at Kortiki, and Ussing again and Georgiades place Pelinna at Klokoto. With regard to the site of Pelinna we have the following evidence from ancient writers. Strabo, 437, says that Ithome is in a quadrilateral formed by Tricca, Metropolis, Pelinna and Gomphi, and in the next chapter he says that the Peneios leaves on the left Tricca, Pelinna and Pharcadon and is borne past Atrax and Larissa down to Tempe and the sea. From Livy, xxxvi. 13, we learn that Baebius and Philip after attacking Gomphi and Tricca in the west besiege Pelinna, whence Philip goes on to attack Limnaeon. In the next chapter we hear that Acilius coming from Larissa first joins Philip beneath Limnaeon and that they go on together from there to Pelinna. Now those who place Pelinna at Kortiki disregard Strabo's direct statement that the city lay on the left bank of the river, and give as their reason for doing so that such a position for Pelinna makes a prettier and more symmetrical figure within which to enclose Ithome. Moreover we also gather from Strabo that Pelinna was the first city after leaving Tricca, and the passages of Livy prove that it lay west of Limnaeon. We know that Pelinna was a city of importance, for it was the seat of a branch of the family of the Aleuadae, is frequently mentioned by ancient writers, and is shown by its coins to have been a member of the league of great Thessalian towns. Limnaeon on the other hand is only mentioned in the above-quoted passage of Livy, and no coins even of it are known. Limnaeon also, as its name implies, was

situated in the middle of the marshes, a description which suits Kortiki but not Palaeo-Gardiki. We are urged then to put Limnaeon at Kortiki among the marshes; for it was probably, and the extant remains agree with this view, merely an acropolis for the neighbouring villagers of the swamp, a refuge in flood time and in war. If this be so we can understand why no coins exist of such a place. Pelinna, on the other hand, lying west of Limnaeon and north of the river, we shall place at Palaeo-Gardiki, a site with remains of an important city and fulfilling all the required conditions.

With regard to the site at Vlokho there can be little doubt. All the topographers are agreed that this represents the ancient Asterion or Peiresiae. Apollonius Rhodius. i. 36, says Asterion came from Peiresiae near Mount Phylleum at the junction of the Enipeus and Apidanus. Stephanus Byzantinus informs us that Asterion was a town of Thessalotis later called Peiresiae and that it was so named from its shining appearance when seen from afar lying upon a high mountain. The poet in the *Iliad* ii. 734, says Eurypylus led those from Asterion and the white peaks of Titanos. Now these passages accurately describe the site at Vlokho; for the ruins are perched on a high and conspicuous hill of peculiar shape, whose rocks are of a white crystalline limestone, a hill which is close to the confluence of the two rivers. Let us now turn our attention to the ruins at Klokoto. Bursian, Philippson, Kiepert, and Lolling mark this as the site of Pharcadon; Leake considers it to be only a frontier fortress; Heuzey and Daumet place Phaestus here; while Ussing and Georgiades consider the site to be that of Pelinna. Leake's wonderful power of guessing sites correctly is at fault here for once because he had not sufficiently examined the spot. Had he done so he would have seen that there was a city here as well as a fortress. Strabo, 438, mentions Pharcadon after Pelinna as towns on the left bank of the Peneios between Tricca and Atrax, and also says the river flows through Pharcadon. Livy, xxxi. 41, says that the Aetolians coming down from Cyretiae in the mountains of the Perrhaebians poured over the plains near Pharcadon. Now Klokoto is in the plains at the mouth of the valley which leads up into the mountains. It is on the left bank of the Peneios, which may be described as flowing through it. It is the next site to Pelinna at Palaeo-Gardiki. Klokoto in fact, and no other, suits all the requirements of these passages and may safely be assumed to be the site of Pharcadon.

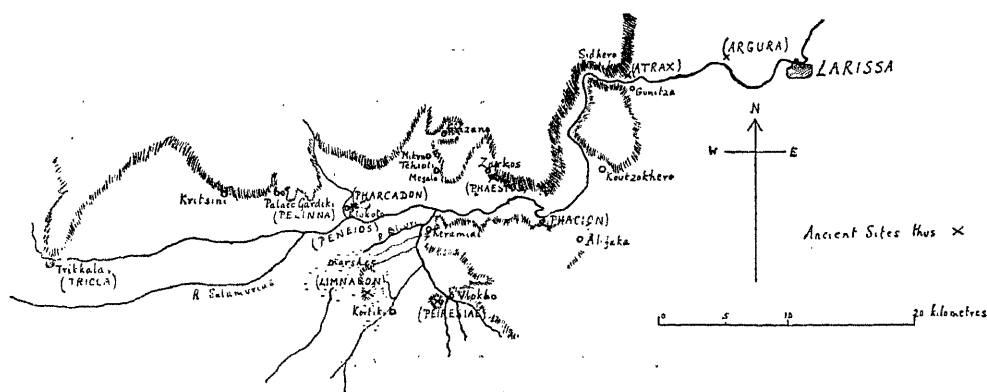
Of the three sites which still remain to be considered, it will be most

convenient to treat of that of Sidhero-Peliko first. Leake, Bursian, and Georgiades place Atrax here, while Kiepert and Lolling put it at the Palaeo-kastro of Alifaka. With regard to Atrax, Strabo, 440, says it lies near the river, 40 stadia above Argura, (the latter being universally placed at a site on the left bank of the river five kilometres above Larissa). But, as quoted above, he says that the Peneios after Pharcadon flows past Atrax and Larissa, and he, 441, states that it lies in the plain. Livy, xxxii. 15, tells us that Flamininus attacked Atrax, a Perrhaebian town on the Peneios, ten miles from Larissa. This evidence points conclusively to Sidhero-Peliko as the site of Atrax, for it is in the plain near the river about fifteen kilometres above Larissa, while Alifaka, the other suggested site, is twenty-two kilometres from Larissa by road, and even more by river. Atrax, moreover, being a Perrhaebian town, must have been on the north side of the river, which was the boundary between the Thessalians and Perrhaebians. (It is useless to attempt to locate Atrax by the situation of the quarries of "verde antico," a variety of green breccia known to the Romans as "marble of Atrax," for these quarries lie at the foot of Mount Ossa, at a spot which cannot possibly agree with the above passages. At this point I may, perhaps, remark that comparatively little help is given to the topographer by coins in Thessaly. In the first place, the number of coins found is not large, because most of Thessaly is still pasture land, whereas coins are generally turned up by the plough. And, secondly, the existence of a league type among the Thessalian towns enabled the coins of any one town to pass current in the others. Consequently, coins of more than one city are found in most spots, and inference from them is dangerous.)

The Palaeo-kastro of Alifaka is considered by Leake, Bursian, and Georgiades to be the site of Phacion. Kiepert and Lolling, however, place Atrax here. We know from Stephanus Byzantinus that both Phaestus and Phacion were Thessalian towns, and so were in the plains; and from Livy, xxxvi. 13, we know that they were in this neighbourhood. The only other passage giving us a clue as to the site of Phacion is Thucydides, iv. 78, where the writer says that Brasidas, on his march through Thessaly, first encamped near Melitaea, near Pharsalus the next night, and then by a forced march reached Phacion, and so came to the Perrhaebians, by whom he was conducted, probably over the Melouna Pass, to Dium in Macedonia. Now Larissa would have been the most natural stopping place, but Brasidas

evidently avoided it purposely, fearing the hostility of the Thessalians, and kept more to the west. Reaching the Perrhaebia is then by a route west of Larissa, Brasidas must have gone to Alifaka, for this is the only site bordering upon Perrhaebia, and yet within a forced march of Pharsalus.

The only other site remaining to be dealt with is that of Zarkos. Georgiades puts Pharcadon here, but Lolling is undoubtedly right in attributing the remains to Phaestus. We know, from the passages just quoted above, that Phaestus was in this district, and so it must be placed at the only vacant site, namely Zarkos. Phaestus is not mentioned elsewhere in ancient literature, but there is an inscription extant, (Mittheil. viii. p. 126), which was found in the Church of St. Nikolaos at Zarkos, bearing the words *ἡ πόλις Φαυττίων*, a Thessalian dialectical name concealing probably the Phaestus of Livy.



## EXCAVATIONS AT NAUKRATIS.

A.

### SITE AND BUILDINGS.

BY D. G. HOGARTH.

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MR. ERNEST GARDNER, summing up in 1889 the results of the excavations at Naukratis which Mr. Flinders Petrie had begun in 1884, was of opinion that something still remained to be done on the site.<sup>1</sup> This opinion was shared by Mr. Petrie and has been expressed by him more than once, when Greek remains in Egypt were under discussion. A further campaign, therefore, has long been contemplated; and when I heard late in 1898 that very serious encroachments were being made upon the mounds of Gaif, it seemed that it was time to act.<sup>2</sup> Paying a flying visit to the place in December, I found that, compared with Mr. Petrie's map of fourteen years before, the Mounds showed a greatly changed appearance. The "Great Temenos" at the south end had become a cornfield: the "Arab village" shown in the map on the north-east edge of the mound was now divided from the uncultivated land by a broad belt of green, which in the east centre had been pushed far out into the hollow heart of the site by an artificial embankment twelve to fifteen feet high. Hundreds of natives were employed daily in digging *sebakh* (i.e. virgin earth for top-dressing the

<sup>1</sup> *Naukratis*, ii., p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> I had already been informed that the Egypt Exploration Fund was not prepared, in view of its heavy obligations elsewhere, to come to the rescue; and that neither Mr. Petrie nor Mr. Gardner in their private capacity wished to resume the work.

cotton-fields) all over the mounds ; and it was obvious, even without their direct testimony, that large tracts, which in Mr. Petrie's time had stood high above the cultivation, were now level with or below it. I noticed particularly the region lying just east of the farthest northern limits of the great central hollow (which the natives said was due to Mr. Petrie's work) and where he had placed in order the 'Palaestra' and the *temené* of Apollo and the Dioscuri. A broken granite door-jamb, lying some distance to the east of the last-named temenos, witnessed to some large building, in all probability a temple, having stood in this neighbourhood ; and to the north were walls and layers of stone chips, seen in section one under the other in the cuttings made by the *sebakh*-diggers. The whole site seemed very wet, much wetter, in fact, than Mr. Petrie or Mr. Gardner had implied in their published accounts ; and later we obtained ample evidence that the dampness had greatly increased since the encroachment began and is still increasing. I came away from the Gaif mounds, convinced that it was worth while to resume their exploration and that no time ought to be lost.

The Committee of the British School at Athens was enabled by the Society of Dilettanti to respond promptly to my appeal for funds ; and as soon as the Bairam of 1899 was over I was able to open a third campaign at Naukratis. I was joined there by Messrs. C. C. Edgar and C. D. Edmonds, students of the School, and work was begun on Sunday, February 19th. The excavation was organized on Mr. Petrie's principles of dispensing with a regular *reis* and paying full local value for all objects found. With the help of the Government overseer, Hassan Abu Se'mi, guard of the mounds of Sa-el-Hagar (Sais), and of several of Mr. Petrie's old workmen, the undertaking was soon got into working order.

With the women, girls and boys who carried baskets, the total number employed for most of the time amounted to a little over a hundred. Like Messrs Petrie and Gardner we also had a miscellaneous crowd of *sebakh*-diggers for irregular scouts. From them we bought from fifty to a hundred small objects daily, and on their work some of our own intermediate and final conclusions have been based. The native diggers affected almost exclusively the extreme north and the extreme south of the mounds. The centre was left alone partly because it has largely been dug out already to or below the basal mud, partly because it lies off the main lines of communication with the surrounding villages.

We began with a certain amount of experimental trenching in the

north-eastern region and at various times tapped other parts of the mound; but since the lion's share of our work was done in the north-east, it will be best to treat excavation there as apart and continuous, and to reserve the account of the exploration, mainly experimental, undertaken in all other regions, to the second section of this Report.

### I.—THE NORTH-EASTERN AREA.

As has already been stated, we found, on arrival at the mounds, a considerable area in the extreme north, which had not been touched by the previous excavators, already reduced by the labours of the *sebakh*-diggers to a manageable depth, the deposit upon the basal mud (as afterwards proved) averaging between six and two feet in thickness. This northern area, roughly 450 ft. north to south by 250 ft. east to west (cp. accompanying map I., II., III. *c*, *d*), was bounded on the east by mounds, still not greatly reduced, in which appeared late walls; on the north by the cultivation, on the fringe of which the ground rose to a height of some 8-10 feet above the general level and ran into the hillock to the north-west, on which is built the village in which we lived; on the west and south by the deep hollow, excavated to, and even below, the level of the basal mud by Messrs. Petrie and Gardner and subsequent *sebakh*-diggers. As pretty nearly all Mr. Petrie's landmarks had disappeared and his walls could no longer be traced,<sup>1</sup> we never arrived at absolute certainty about the location of his Temenê; but, roughly speaking, our "North-eastern area" marched with the eastern edge of his combined Dioscuri and Apollo enclosures, and of about half the area which he called the "Palaestra" and Mr. Gardner re-named the "Temenos of Hera." Our attention was drawn to and fixed upon this area not only by the surface indications, mentioned already, but by the fact that, with two exceptions, all the fragments of vessels inscribed with dedications that were brought to us for sale in the first days of our stay, came from the rubbish heaps in this region, mostly those round the well marked 35 on the plans. The proximity of Mr. Petrie's *temenê* was a positive recommendation, and the fact that up to that moment the *sebakh*-diggers had furnished us with no such significant

<sup>1</sup> We lived in hope of a visit from Mr. Petrie, during which we could have verified many topographical points: but illness prevented his coming.

finds from any other part of the mounds, supplied an equally cogent negative argument in its favour.

The first trench 50 ft. long (lengthened later to 70 ft.) was sunk in the north-western half of II. *c*, and proceeding westwards, we turned over the deposit, averaging 3 ft. in depth, as far as a line drawn through the points 35 and 6 on the plan: then the men were turned with their faces north and made to work steadily through the remains of buildings 3, 4 and 5, up to and over the long wall to the north of these, and through the line of chambers 10-21. At the same time an attack was made on the high ground to the north and chambers 27, 26, 25 and 24 were tested down to water level, but only 26 was at all completely cleared. In all these last-named chambers we were stopped by water before reaching the lowest and most remunerative stratum. Meanwhile the top rubbish was removed from above chambers 12, 13, 22, 30, 31, 32 and they were cleared as completely as water would permit. A shaft was sunk also at 33, but nothing was found above the water. Wide trenches were made to the east of the long east and west wall, resulting in the discovery of the wall fragments in I. *c*, but here mud and water stopped progress. At an earlier period shafts had been sunk to the mud (5 ft.) in the building numbered 37, but it was found to have been already dug out.

As soon as we could no longer reach the basal mud at the north for the rising water, work was transferred to the south of the area. Pits and trenches were sunk all along its west edge and pushed eastwards nearly to the parallel dividing *c* and *d*. Here an area was reached, in which the basal mud was already exposed, and nothing was to be learned. Wide and deep trenches were accordingly sunk in the higher ground to the south-east (40-42), which was bounded by two visible walls. That done, the only part of the area left untried was its centre, west of the well 35, and this was turned over thoroughly in the last days of our stay, while trials were made in the high ground to the east of the whole region, which must be thoroughly searched hereafter as soon as the *sebakh*-diggers shall have lowered it sufficiently. Wells 35 and 36 were cleared out meanwhile.

This is the chronology of the excavation. But in describing the finds made, and the conditions under which they came to light, it will be best to ignore this order, and to go over the whole area from south to north.

Thereafter the nature and character of the area and of the buildings, whose traces it was found to contain, may be discussed in the light of the evidence.

As is seen on the accompanying map, the area is bounded on the south-east and south by thin walls, that on the south not continuing far west but apparently returning north in the east half of III. d. West of the return are only faint traces of unimportant structures: but north of it is the line of a very large wall running nearly due east until lost in the denuded hollow in the centre of the area. Outside (*i.e.* south of) this great wall in the south-easternmost part of the area (40-42), we found neither constructions of any kind nor any significant objects. The deposit upon the basal mud was as much as 8 ft. deep at the extreme south under the bounding wall, and a pit was sunk 2 ft. lower still, at 42, and reached water. Just under the surface at that point was much coarse pottery and ashes mixed with late black glazed ware: and at  $4\frac{1}{2}$  ft. appeared sherds of local fabrics lying on the basal mud. But no inscribed fragments were found here. In this region, as is the case generally at Naukratis, a very unproductive belt of muddy sand, about 4 ft. thick, intervenes between remains of the later Ptolemaic period and those of the fifth century and earlier.

East of this point (43), and beyond the cross wall (III. d. top) the deposit was thinner, the local sherds beginning at 3 ft. down. But only close to the great E.-W. wall (39) was anything important found. Here were slight remains of a foundation made of small chips of rough limestone laid in two layers, the whole only 7 cm. thick; but it was not laid actually on the basal mud, there being a thin interval of sand containing early sherds, one inscribed with part of a dedication to Herakles (*cp.* *inscr.* no. 3). Immediately west of the straight edge of this foundation were two large vessels of coarse red clay imbedded in their original positions in the mud. A similar vessel was found also in the northern part of the area, in a similar relation to a stone foundation (18, 17). Immediately to the south of this point, but at a slightly higher level than the chips or vessels were scanty remains of a concrete pavement above which were found inscribed sherds, while just outside it, but so nearly at its level that it is impossible to say whether just above or just below, lay the Aphrodite Pandemos dedication (No. 107).

North of the great wall (which could not be traced much east of 39) the deposit was at first very thin, and in the corner II. c. and d., the basal mud was already exposed. But for some distance south of the line 34-1, the deposit averaged three ft. and contained (57) some faint traces of brick construction. The first point at which any considerable find of inscriptions was made, was at 34, where in the corner of a small chamber abutting west on the great enclosure wall, which runs north, a number of dedications to the Dioscuri were discovered about 2 ft. above the mud. Just south of the southern wall of this small chamber and at a similar level occurred the lamp with Dioscuri dedication (No. 57); and south again of this, up to the line of the E.-W. enclosure wall, were found (scattered partly on the surface in *sebakh*-diggers' and rubbish heaps, partly a foot or two above the mud) a few dedications to Herakles (Nos. 33, 84), mixed with stray sherds of Apollo (No. 52), Artemis? (No. 65), and others not to be identified, including the inscribed stone horse (No. 58), which like two other horses found by the *sebakh*-diggers close to this same point, lay in untouched earth almost immediately upon the mud. Good fragments of early painted pottery, mostly Naukratite, were both found by us all along this west edge of the area and brought to us by *sebakh*-diggers working close by.

To the north of the "Dioscuri chamber" between the line of its south wall, carried on to the east limit of the area, and the beginning of the constructions, marked 6, 5, 4, 3 and 8 on the plans, the deposit was very thin, having been in many places dug out almost to the basal mud. Two terra-cotta heads (Nos. 1, 21), and some early sherds were found at 18 inches above the mud. A great red granite door-jamb (1), broken in two pieces, lay on the surface, having been lowered by previous diggers from a higher level. The whole, when unbroken, would have measured 117 inches  $\times$   $39\frac{1}{2}$   $\times$   $17\frac{1}{2}$ . A side has been left rough, and on the broad smoothed face are two oblong dowel or bolt holes, each 5 deep. We lowered the jamb three feet more and left it on the mud,

Immediately to the south of it was a fragment of thin wall, and traces existed of three more thin walls based on the mud a little to the north-west. But no returns appeared and, as the walls were mere cores without faces, even their direction is uncertain. Their tops were below the level of some fragments of concrete paving laid on a chip bedding at 28 inches above the mud (marked 2, 2, 2 on the plan); but under the westernmost fragment of this pavement were faint remains of a lower chip bed, only one foot above the basal mud, and separated from the upper bed by an interval of 16 inches of earth mixed with black-figure and Naukratite sherds. Below was a thin layer of burnt stuff resting on the mud. In all this region inscribed sherds turned up but rarely, and though there were obviously fragments of dedicated vessels, none found about here had preserved the name of any divinity which could be read or restored with certainty. The inscribed sherds occurred either (black-glaze fragments) in the surface rubbish or at an average of 16-20 inches above the mud, which is covered immediately by a patchy layer of ashes.<sup>1</sup> But the Bedawi boys who searched the rubbish heaps farther west on their own account (north and west of the well 35) brought us at one time or another many inscribed fragments of fifth, fourth and third century vessels dedicated to Aphrodite (No. 87), to "Gods of the Hellenes" (Nos. 76, 71, 77, 80, 78, 75, 81), and (one only) to Poseidon (?) (No. 62). The last named, it is worth noting, came from almost the same spot as the stone horses mentioned above (close to well 35). The well, marked 35, which was cleared in the last days of our stay, had a diameter of 3½ feet at the top. It was lined with tiles fitted in rings one within the other.<sup>2</sup> At a depth of 12 feet we began to find early sherds in the mud, but the bottom was not reached till 19 feet. On the basal sand lay rotten fragments of wood and in the last two feet of mud was found an almost perfect late black-figured Attic vase and a number of coarser jars. No inscribed sherds were obtained in this well. A great wall 27 feet thick bounds the area on the west. Immediately below the well we were successful in finding both its western and eastern face intact, but to north and south only traces remained. On the north it runs into the hillock east of the village: on the south it returns east in the great E.-W. wall described above. No such well-marked boundary limits the area on the east. The line of a passage or street is evident just west of the well-preserved structure marked 37, but its walls are thin. In all probability this passage and the structure 37 are within the great enclosure wall whose return north must be looked for in the high mounds, still unexplored to the east. Up to this point no structures had been uncovered by us from which (with the exception of the great enclosure walls) any plan could be reconstructed. It is impossible to say, however, that no traces of structures existed in this area other than these that we found and have marked on the plans. The difficulty of detecting and following brick walls in the saturated clay of Naukratis is far greater than I have experienced anywhere else, and fully bears out the words of Mr. Petrie and Mr. Gardner.<sup>3</sup> We used all possible care in the search, and now record faithfully just what we found: we can do no more.

As will be seen, however, on the plan, the extreme north of the area was found to contain more significant structures. Firstly, as we turned over the earth northwards, we came upon remains either of a platform or a foundation, or less probably of a primitive enclosure wall of brick 37 feet across north to south (8). West of this and abutting on it was a chamber (3) of which all four walls were preserved to an average height of 18 in. above the basal soil. Its bricks were in condition to be measured and were uniformly 16 in. × 4 in. They would correspond, therefore, in date (according to Mr. Petrie's canon)<sup>4</sup> with the bricks in the Great Temenos, and should be referred to the earlier half of the sixth century B.C. Inside the chamber was a layer of hammered mud 10 in. thick resting on the basal soil. The whole structure, as we found it, was below the level of the fragment of concrete pavement immediately south. Inside this chamber were found the dedication to Apollo (No. 51) and numerous fragments. Also on the mud just outside its north-west and south walls appeared many fragments of dedicated vessels, of which all that bore a divine name,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Petrie in *Academy* July 16, 1887 for this earliest layer, and cf. *infra* p. 36.

Cf. *Nauk.* ii. p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> *Nauk.* i. p. 9, ii. p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> *Nauk.* i. p. 89.

which can still be read, were to the honour of Aphrodite (Nos. 54, 88, 91, 92, 93). The north wall continued a little way west of this chamber and was then lost; but after a short interval was a larger chamber (5), in which appeared a rectangular patch of fine sand inserted into the basal mud (6); the patch was 5 in. thick and 78 in. N. to S. by 66 in. E. to W. We cleared it very carefully in hope of a foundation deposit, but found only the hard mud beneath. It must have been laid under some small structure, perhaps an altar, belonging to the earliest temple in this area: the earth above and about showed signs of much disturbance, late sherds having fallen to within a few inches of the mud—a result of the extraction of the stone superstructure by the Arabs.<sup>1</sup> At the north end of this chamber occurred fragments of fifth century terracotta figurines, at an average of 10 in. above the mud level. The walls of this chamber, mere cores of mud and probably only foundation courses, were preserved only to a height of about 2 ft. As in the small chamber (3) there were remains of a floor of hammered mud. Nothing of importance was found in the very shallow layer of deposit between this chamber and the west enclosure wall.

On being pushed northwards, however, the trenches soon revealed the existence of a wall running due N. to S. along their whole length. A few inscribed fragments (Aphrodite No. 86) were found in the process of approaching it, and half the inscribed base of a limestone statuette with the feet preserved. The other half was recovered later on the north side of the long wall, and the whole proved to bear a dedication to Herakles and a new sculptor's signature, Sikon of Cyprus.

(a)

ΣΙΚΛ ' 'ΟΙΗ  
ΣΕΚΥΤ Σ  
ΑΡΙΣΤΙ ' ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙ

Σίκω[ν] ἐποίησε Κύπ[ριος]. Ἀριστίων Ἡρακλεῖ.

Both halves lay within a very few inches of the mud. As so often has happened to Naukratite excavators, we were forced to hack for some distance into the face of the long N. to S. wall before being assured of its being a wall at all, and thus we came to lay bare (7) three stones *in situ*, which later we found to be continued northwards by a patch of massive stone work (17) corresponding to another patch still more massive, a little to the east (16). Both these sandstone patches rest on a thin layer of earth and chips, laid on the mud. The three stones, first found, averaged 5 in. thick, and were of varying sizes, the largest 31 in by 15 in. Their orientation was very exact, as was that of the continuations to the north, whose stones were of the same thickness. Those in the east patch (16), however, averaged 8 in. in thickness and were disposed in two courses, the uppermost course being bevelled along its straight western face. The occurrence of a large clay vessel (18) fixed in the mud within the line of the stones (17), which had been interrupted to allow it place, has been already alluded to above. A single stone and a fragment of tile apparently *in situ*, used as paving, were found much farther east at the same level, also similarly under the south face of the long wall (9).

<sup>1</sup> There were traces of disturbance in one or two other spots about here. Mr. Gardner tells me that he made some trial trenches in this region, and perhaps these disturbed spots are a result of them.

The long wall was no more than a mud core, left standing to an average height of four feet above the basal soil, on which, however, it did not rest. A thin layer of muddy sand, in which sherds and other things occurred, intervened. The same is true of the transverse walls which returned north from it. The chambers included by these, were dug out by us to the basal soil at all points from 20 to 10 (v. map). The westernmost region (21 and 32) was found to have been already dug, and to be full of loose blown sand, on the top of which the rubbish, that had been heaped by the *sebakh*-diggers, yielded some late terra-cotta fragments and one inscribed sherd (No. 50). In the next room to the east (20) was found at 12 in. above the mud a floor of hammered earth overlaid with fine plaster, part plain crimson, part crimson and white stripe, and part blue and white stripe. Only small fragments of the coloured surface were preserved, and those in terrible condition, owing to the dampness which was now increasing rapidly as we proceeded north. The earth below this flooring and above it up to the surface (4 ft.) was singularly empty of remains, and the few sherds were not earlier than fourth century.

In the next chamber (19) occurred a similar floor in a similar state, but this time overlaid with yellow and red stripe plaster. The stone foundation and the large vessel in the south east corner have already been mentioned. A notable find was made in clearing the earth out of the latter, viz. the early Warrior Relief (Pl. IX., cf. p. 65). Together with the vessel and the stones, it lay just below the level of the plaster floor. Indeed the bottom of the vessel penetrated several inches into the basal mud; but no early pottery was found in this chamber.

The next room (15) was empty of everything except the massive sand-stone foundation (16), which ran away both N. and S. under the enclosing walls. Its lower course was let down into the basal mud, and, when prized out, it left a sharply defined pit. We removed all the stones, to the number of seventeen, which were not too firmly embedded under the walls, in order to be sure that no foundation deposits underlay them. But there was no sign of anything but the uniform bed of black mud.

Room 14, however, proved the richest of all our find-spots, for in its south-east corner, immediately on the mud and partly under both walls was found a layer of fine broken terra-cottas (cf. *infra* p. 69). They were happened upon late on March 2nd, and proved very difficult to extract, being penetrated by the wet. We worked into the dark, and got out eleven heads, three only being complete, and numerous other fragments, on which blue and red pigment was for the moment very evident. The spot was guarded through the night and two more heads and a few fragments came to light next day, together with the missing half of the Sikon basis (*supra* p. 32). Remains of a conduit made of earthen pipes from  $4\frac{1}{2}$  to 6 in. diameter lay at a slightly higher level than the terra-cottas. The layer of terra-cottas continued spasmodically over the west end of the next chamber to the east (11), mixed with fragments of brilliant blue stucco, a few late black figure sherds and a very few inscribed bits. The later pavement was here a little higher (23 in.) above the mud than at the west and consisted of a thin layer of concrete  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in. thick. In this chamber we were stopped by the water, for as we proceeded north and east, approaching the line of cultivation, we soon found ourselves in sheer slime, in which lay terra-cotta fragments, now of the same lamentable consistency as the stuff in which they were embedded. The same conditions impeded us to the south-east: walls were almost indistinguishable and terra-cottas were reduced to pulp. But potsherds, of course, were not so seriously affected and it is remarkable that we found no more early ware at the eastern end of this long wall than at the western. Two terra-cotta heads of greater solidity than usual were our only significant finds beyond the point marked 9 on the plan, if we except three inscribed sherds found in the surface rubbish beyond 54, one dedicated to Apollo (No. 52), one to Aphrodite, and one bearing three characters of the Cypriote script (No. 114).<sup>1</sup>

With the line of wall, which bounds this row of chambers on the north, we reached the limit of the deeper clearance made by the *sebakh*-diggers. In front of us rose a bank of debris averaging 16 ft. in height from the basal soil. The stratification of it (just north of 14) was on this wise. In the first foot of slime above the mud were remains of terra-cottas, red-figure and other late fifth century sherds; above this was the line of a flooring laid on fragments of coarse plaster; above this

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Nauk*, I. p. 36 for Cypriote influence on this site.

lay 7 ft. of packed sand containing no remains whatever : above this appeared in section on the face of the cutting a stratum of limestone chips : 2 feet above this on the western part of the face (30) a second and thinner stratum of chips, but on the eastern face nothing but sand, mixed with a few sherds and terra-cotta fragments, until at 14½ ft. above the mud appeared a thick stratum of concrete laid on chips, 7 in. thick, which was not, like the other chip layers, partial only, but seems to have extended all over the northernmost part of the site : lastly above this were from one to three feet of rubbish, mostly an accumulation of sherds, terra-cotta fragments &c., thrown away by the *sebakh*-diggers, and almost all of Roman period. The same diggers had driven some headings into this mass, and in particular had opened a long passage leading due north between two fairly well-preserved walls (28). We found returning walls to the east of this, also well-preserved, at a height of 14 ft. above the mud level, and proceeded to make sinkings into the chambers that they enclosed, while at the same time we were working from the south also into the face. In the northernmost chamber (27) the water filtering in from the field close by soon stopped us, after we had cleared about 10 ft. from the west wall to a depth of 8 ft. or thereabouts. A little hollow Bes figure in thin beaten gold was found among the surface rubbish here, but nothing else beyond amphora handles, coarse sherds, and fragments of unimportant terra-cottas of Roman date. No pavement was met with. In the larger room to the south (26) we were able to clear the whole to a certain depth. Here was no pavement and the walls did not go down below a point about 8 ft. above the basal level. On the surface lay the usual Roman rubbish : then nothing but sand, until at 7 ft. above the basal level late Greek sherds appeared, one or two bearing inscriptions. Two feet lower we were in the water and had to desist. The next chamber to the south (25) was very small : here we came on the concrete pavement, 7 in. thick, seen on the south face of the cutting at 8 ft. above the mud. In the region to the east of these chambers (23) we made no attempt to get down, knowing that water would stop us long before we could approach the basal mud.

On the south face, however, we were still able to work our way inwards on the basal mud level or some little distance north of the northern wall of the first row of chambers. At the west end of the cutting (31, 30) we found by so doing absolutely nothing of significance, and not a single early sherd. But farther east we were better rewarded, though the lowest stratum was no better than slime. In the space marked 14a, between which and the chamber 14, we never satisfactorily established the existence of any wall, the layer of Vth century terra-cotta fragments continued just above the level of plaster bedding mentioned above. With the fragments were also found, in 14a, many pieces of a very fine late red-figured Attic vase.

Into the adjoining chamber to the east (12) the terra-cotta stratum continued till it perished in slime and water. We were not able to recover anything from this latter chamber in sufficiently good preservation to be of any use ; and the same must be said of the next two chambers to the north (22, 13) divided from 14 and 12 and from each other by walls not going down within 7 ft. of the mud. From the westernmost (22), when already in standing water, we dredged up one fine bit of early Naukratite painted ware ; but a whole day's further dredging resulted in no further discovery.

It was now obvious that we could do no more good with the very little that was left of the mounds to the north. The cultivated land just beyond them was, during all our stay, in a condition of perpetual inundation, the waste water from a large area collecting here and forming a small marsh. To this fact and the circumstance that the walls in this part of the mound do not go down to hard mud, but leave an interval through which the water permeates readily, is owed the excessive dampness. As only the lowest strata were at all productive we did not trouble to clear the upper any more than has already been described.

Nothing more remains to be related concerning the exploration of this "North-eastern Area" except the clearing of a large well (36) immediately west of it, on the eastern edge of the hollow region already cleared to and even below the basal mud by the previous excavators. This well had a diameter of 71 inches inside measurement, and was found to have perfectly straight walls lined with large tiles nearly 4 inches thick, not laid in rings as is the usual case with Naukratite wells, but flush. There were no footholds in the sides. We cleared it of its slime, finding the bottom at 24 ft. which would be equivalent to 22 ft. below the basal mud level. The results were disappointing : neither good inscribed nor painted pottery was found in this well, but several coarse jugs and

amphorae (one with  $\Sigma\Phi\Omega$  painted on its side) lay at the bottom, together with a boar's skull, early local sherds, fragments of two Isis terra-cottas (v. *infra*, p. 85 and pl. XII. No. 127) part of a heavy iron collar, and some stone weights.

It is obvious that we have to do in this "North-eastern Area" with remains of more than one structure and more than one epoch. The important part is evidently that contained within the great enclosure of which we found the broken west and south sides. The rest of the area, *i.e.* the extension of it south of that enclosure, contained no remains of any significance: the walls found there were such as are appropriate to houses; and the inscribed sherds were so few and various as to warrant no other inference than that they were stragglers from the enclosures to the north and south-west.

With regard to the main part of the Area it must first be remarked that it was obviously a single enclosure from the earliest times. No wall of sufficient size to be that of a temenos, other than those described above, has left any traces of itself. The Enclosure walls west and south are based actually on the mud with (so far as we could see) no underlying rubbish at all; but immediately within them occur the earliest sherds. Yet the Enclosure walls also agree so well with the late structure to the north that it would appear that the latter was built with reference to them.

In the south-western corner of this Enclosure we found scanty remains of a structure, shown by the bricks of one of its chambers to belong to the earlier half of the sixth century. Together with the Enclosure wall it is probably contemporary with the first settlement of Greeks at Naukratis. The traces of a large brick platform, noted at 8 (map), seem to belong to the same structure, as does probably also the granite jamb (1). To the same period, though it is impossible to say if to the same structure, must be referred the sandstone patches at 7, 17, 16 and the earthen vessel (18) which contained the sandstone Warrior relief. Here we have remains of an important stone structure, accurately orientated, and uniform with the great enclosure wall.

Immediately above the level of the ruined wall-tops of this period in the south of the enclosure we found remains of a pavement resting on early local and black-figured sherds. This must have been laid down in the fifth century. Close by on the north we find the long east-west wall which rests on a thin layer of rubbish, referable at latest to the middle of

the same century, and bounds chambers, whose pavements over-lie early remains, but have above them terra-cottas and red-figure sherds of the later fifth century. It is natural therefore to connect this structure with the concrete fragments to the south, and to see in it remains of a mud-brick building which in the fifth century was superimposed on a pre-existing sandstone structure.

To the north, however, of this as well as at a point to the south-east (37) we have considerable remains at an altogether higher level. They over-lie the thick belt of unproductive sand which seems to cover the earlier strata at many points on the site.<sup>1</sup> This belt of empty sand is a very curious feature, and can be due to one of two agencies only, either drift acting during a long period of desolation, or artificial human labour. It is hard to credit the first alternative. At what period after the middle or end of the fifth century is it possible that Naukratis could have lain for a long term of years desolate or nearly so?<sup>2</sup> We know that Cleomenes, the governor left in Egypt by Alexander in 331 B.C., was born at Naukratis. Put his birth about 360 at latest and no sufficient interval for such accumulation can be said to divide that date from the period at which Herodotus visited the place. It is possible, indeed probable, that Naukratis declined greatly after 331, which year saw the foundation of the new Greek emporium, Alexandria; but Mr. Petrie established the fact that Naukratis was issuing an autonomous coinage under the first Ptolemy,<sup>3</sup> while the foundation deposits found in the "Great Temenos" belong to the second king of that name. The historical probabilities are all against any great break in the continuity of Naukratite prosperity.

Nor is the second alternative a very easy one to credit, but it is easier than the first. To find a motive for a great artificial heaping of sand over the remains of early buildings we must remember that the level of the Delta cultivation, and therefore of the water, steadily rises. Both are now about 10 ft. (at the least) higher than when the Greeks came to Naukratis.<sup>4</sup> The deposit on those parts of the mounds, that were covered by houses, might

<sup>1</sup> We established its existence also at the S. of our "north area" 39-42-40 where the *sebakh*-diggers had not worked so low as in the centre. It appeared everywhere to the N.E. and was present also in the region 46-49 on the west.

<sup>2</sup> The argument as to the great decline or even temporary abandonment of the site in the late fifth and the fourth centuries B.C. based by Mr. Petrie on the fact that he did not find red-figured ware, has been disposed of this season by our finding plenty of red-figured sherds of all periods.

<sup>3</sup> *Nauk.* i. pp. 8, 66.

<sup>4</sup> *Nauk.* i. p. 10,

have kept pace with this rise, or even exceeded it,<sup>1</sup> as is the case to this day with Egyptian villages ; but the Temple areas would fall behind and become wet hollows, such as may be seen on many sites now, *e.g.* Tell Ferain *i.e.* Buto. Naukratis, it must be remembered, is, and must always have been, a very low site, little raised above the flood level. The increasing evil of dampness in the public places was probably not dealt with during the last century of Persian rule in the Delta, which was marked by a succession of great revolts ; but Ptolemaic builders, on taking in hand the restoration of earlier buildings and the resuscitation of the towns, (as we know they did resuscitate them everywhere in Egypt, notably in the Fayûm), could not avoid the obligation to solve the water difficulty at Naukratis, and ere restoring the Hellenion and other temples, were obliged to provide a new and dry bed.<sup>2</sup> To those restorers therefore we may ascribe conjecturally the artificial covering of so much of the site with a layer of dry sandy earth,<sup>3</sup> upon which was erected in the great enclosure at the north of the town the building whose foundations we found 8 feet above the original basal mud, with flooring at different levels, the most general and important being 6½ feet above the base of the foundations. This building was as accurately orientated as the structure below it, and like the latter it seems to have been contained within the great enclosure of earlier date. The natural inference is that it was a Ptolemaic restoration, designed to serve the same purpose and to bear the same character as the building it superseded.

Unfortunately the *sebakhin* on the one hand and the cultivators on the other, had left us but a fragment of the whole. We found among the top rubbish here a bit of an Ionic cap with part of its volute, originally 3½ inches in diameter. This perhaps belonged to the Ptolemaic temple. The fragmentary ground plans recovered by us of these different structures are inconclusive : on such a site they could hardly be otherwise. The best that can be said for them is that they reproduce more vestiges of construction than our predecessors found in any of the neighbouring *temenê*. Probability suggests that all public structures in Naukratis faced west towards the line of the navigable canal.<sup>4</sup> In that case we have found the southern wall of a fifth century temple with a line of chambers within it and

<sup>1</sup> *Nauk.* i. p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the chambers without doors or windows, found in the 'Great Temenos' by Mr. Petrie, were designed to counteract dampness rather than human foes.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Mr. Petrie's inference as to the bed of the Apollo Temple *Nauk.* i. p. 12, and Mr. Gardner's as to the artificial raising of the local Aphrodite shrine, *Nauk.* ii. p. 36.

<sup>4</sup> *Nauk.* i. 12, ii. 11.

probably a long passage to the north of them. Beyond this point we could not penetrate at the required level. Of the Ptolemaic temple on the higher level we can say nothing more than that it was perhaps of the Ionic order<sup>1</sup> and partly built of stone and that it also contained on its south side a number of small chambers disposed along a passage.

The arrangement of both structures recalls rather the Graeco-Egyptian temples of the Fayûm towns, *e.g.* Dionysias (Qasr Qerûn), Karanis (Kum Ushim) and Bacchias<sup>2</sup> (Umm el Atl), than purely Hellenic shrines.

I have assumed that we are dealing in this area with Temples. The existence of an enclosure wall; the expensive construction of certain buildings in stone; the accurate orientation; and most of all the quantity of dedicated sherds and remains of ex-voto terracottas—these features combine to render a sacred character not doubtful. That these were temples of Greek Gods all the objects go to prove, but of what gods? Unlike Mr. Petrie who found within one of his enclosures dedications to the Dioscuri only, and within another dedications only to Apollo, we have found within our enclosure dedications to several gods.

In the south-west was a "pocket" of dedications, of which the six, that have preserved their inscriptions, are in honour of the *Dioscuri*. Messrs. Petrie and Gardner also published six specimens from their "Dioscuri Temenos" situated immediately to the west of ours.

In and about the chamber numbered 3 on the plans we found a number of dedications to *Aphrodite*. A few stragglers from other parts of the area, of which one, the best cut of all our inscriptions, qualifies the goddess as Pandemos, swell the total. These can have no connection with the small and probably native Aphrodite-shrine dug by Mr. Gardner, whose site lies nearly a quarter of a mile distant. And we have not only inscribed sherds to attest the existence of a shrine of Aphrodite in the north area, but a quantity of terracottas of Aphrodite type and a pedestal shown us by an Arab as having been found in that region.

(b) Pedestal in hard blue limestone, 68 × 27 × 15 cm. Complete.

ΔΕΙΝΟΜΑΧΟΣ

ΤΕΡΦΗΙΟ

ΜΥΤΙΑΛΗΝΑΙΟΣ

ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΙ

Δεινόμαχος Τερφήϊο(υ) Μυτιληναῖος Ἀφροδίτῃ.

<sup>1</sup> Like the temple of the Milesian Apollo hard by. *Nauk.* i. p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> v. forthcoming volume on the Fayûm to be issued by the Egypt Exploration Fund, Graeco-Roman Branch.

These sherds and terracottas cover a period of nearly two centuries. That there should have been at least two seats of Aphrodite worship at Naukratis is only what we should have expected from the statements of its townsman Athenaeus (xiii. 596 b., xv. 675 f.). The place was notorious for its devotion to the Goddess of light love about whom the Naukratite Polycharmos composed a book, and for the beauty of the local devotees of her cult. Perhaps the extraordinary quantity of indecent terracottas and stone images, which the site still yields, is due to the prevalence of her worship. The place must have been the Port Said of antiquity!

*Apollo* is represented by stray sherds found all through the area but especially towards the south-west. The most notable is the early dedication, no. 51, found in chamber 3.

*Herakles*, whose dedications have not been previously recognised at Naukratis, is honoured on a statuette base found south of chamber 3, and on several sherds, scattered from that point southwards to the extremity of the area.

*Zeus* has two dedications on stone (*Nauk.* ii. 12, 13, and 1, 2) previously found at Naukratis.

*Poseidon*? and *Artemis*? are represented by a very doubtful dedication apiece; but it is probable that also the early stone horses (v. *supra* p. 30 and pl. XIV. nos. 10, 11) were offered to the former.

There remain a series of dedications, found for the most part in the south-western part of the Area between chambers 3 and 34, and unique in their ascription. The formula appears to be *Θεοῖς τοῖς Ἑλλήνων* or *Ἑλληνίοις* with variants. No one sherd unfortunately has preserved the whole dedication, but on one or another we have full warrant for it. Seventeen different fragmentary dedications bear some part of a word with root *Ελλην*—; and how many more, which show parts of indecisive words like *ἀνέθηκεν*, originally bore the same full formula it is now impossible to judge. Probably one sherd found by Mr. Petrie (*Nauk.* i. p. 62, No. 690) is to be referred to the same series.

## II.—OTHER PARTS OF THE MOUND.

As has already been stated, the centre of the Gaif mounds is a vast hollow dug out to, or even below, the level of the basal mud, and in parts

permanently flooded. This large central region (indicated on the map by a ground-tint) is finished so far as archaeological exploration goes: Messrs. Petrie and Gardner extracted from it the last evidence of its ancient character and history that will ever be recovered.

There are left, therefore, after their and our excavations (1) a thin belt of mound extending all the length of the site on the west, (2) an irregular tract at the extreme south, contained between the central hollow and the area of the "Great Temenos," now all under cultivation, (3) an isolated patch of high mound on the north-east, bounded west by our excavations and on all other sides by cultivation, and about equal in extent to what I have called the "North-eastern Area."

1. The long western strip was trenched by us, as by Messrs. Petrie, Griffith and Gardner, at various points from the edge of the village on the north to near the point marked "Roman brick-work." Mr. Petrie, whose trenches revealed nothing clear in this region, conjectured that the line of the ancient canal ran at the west edge of the Mound, and that for some distance east it was faced by a row of warehouses, shops and the like, while behind these rose the shrines in the *temenē* of the different gods, situated in what is now the central hollow. So far as our equally unsatisfactory trenching went it supported this conjecture. Beginning from the north, our trenches were sunk near the points 45, 46-49, and 50 (*v.* the map). At 45 a bit of a late Ptolemaic dedication and two inscribed sherds had been found on or near the surface by *sebakh*-diggers.

(c) Fragment of marble slab, broken left.:

ΤΗΤΟΣ  
ΘΕΟ///Σ  
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΩΙ

Comparing inscription (e) *infra*, I restore

Ἀνέθηκεν Ἀκράτης  
τοῖς συννοῖς θεοῖς.  
..... καὶ Διονύσῳ.

For the dedicator's name cf. Pape, *s.v.*

Accordingly I had a series of pits sunk 8 feet to the hard mud north and south of the E.W. wall shown at this point in the map: but they led us to no conclusion. Between this point and 46 are signs of several thin walls. From 46-49 we sank sixteen pits and trenches. Generally we came on early sherds at from 10 to 20 inches only below the actual surface: at 15 to 20 inches further down we were in hard mud entirely empty of antiquities. The general surface in this region is well below the cultivation level, but just west and south of 48-49 rise high mounds with a straight cut face. In these could be seen a line of chips resting on sand at 5½ feet above our average surface, and above it a layer of Roman remains, burnt bricks &c. about 3 feet thick. The 5½ feet of sand under the chips seemed to be absolutely empty of sherds. Except some early sherds we found nothing significant in all this region. Two inscribed fragments (one to Hera), found at the edge of the hollow near 46, were in the surface rubbish and probably stragglers from further east.

Beyond the high ground to the south of these trenches we made trial of the deposit again, but in several pits reached water almost at once—from three to five feet down—and the lower mud was absolutely empty of antiquities. On the surface lay late sherds and fragments of poor character, and just under it a little early Naukratite ware. In one place (just west of the well 50) was a

considerable layer of burnt stuff, just below the surface, containing numerous blue paste and stone amulets,—*Bes* figurines, eyes, hawks, etc. of poor quality. The walls found were very thin and poor, and so rotten that even their direction could not be made out. The impression created by the result of all the trenching here, over an area of about 200 feet north to south, was of house and shop remains of poor quality. The well, marked 50, was cleared by us to the bottom at 26 feet from the surface. It is 50 inches in diameter and lined with tiles disposed in rings. It proved richer in pottery than the other two wells cleared by us, producing fragments of figured Naukratite vases from 12 to 14 feet down (v. infra p. 59 and Pl. VII. 1), and four inscribed sherds from the very bottom (No. 41 and three small fragments) as well as large coarse pots, goat and ibex horns, stone weights, and a piece of a small and interesting early stone figure.

2. South of this point both Mr. Gardner and Mr. Petrie (or Mr. Griffith, according to the Arabs), had trenched over a considerable tract: and, that passed, the southern region is reached where no one has yet found anything but Egyptian remains. Large numbers of *sebakh*-diggers were at work here daily, and we observed not a single exception during our stay to the rule that everything found by them in the pre-Roman strata south of the line dividing VII. and VIII. (v. map) would be of non-Greek character. Mr. Petrie, in writing to me, bore the same witness, "I found nothing but Egyptian south of Aphrodite" (*i.e.*, the Aphrodite temple cleared by Mr. Gardner). We were often pressed to dig hereabouts, especially in IX. X. d, (*v.* map) where the weekly market is held, but the inducement held out was always a story of a find of Egyptian bronzes. We bought a considerable number of such bronzes found in this part of the mound, and some inscribed objects, a sistrum handle in fine blue ware, bearing the rather rare cartouche of Psammetichus III, but none of the texts are more than fragments of conventional formulae. To the east (VII., VIII., IX., b,) the mounds are still high, despite the daily visits of Prince Hussein's carts, and there only late Roman stuff is found. In VIII., IX. c. a considerable tract has been levelled lately, and an attempt has been made to cultivate it. In VII. d. was a little untouched earth within two walls of an early chamber (51), and, excavating it, we found a good many early sherds with inscriptions, some to Aphrodite. They are doubtless stragglers from Mr. Gardner's temple hard by. The base of these walls was in water, a proof how greatly the dampness has risen since our predecessors' time. In the surface rubbish round about lay many scarab moulds, remains of Mr. Petrie's "Scarab factory."

3. The encroachment of the cultivation from the eastward upon the centre of the site has absorbed all the eastern fringe of unexcavated deposit shown in Mr. Petrie's map (*Nauk.* i. pl. 40), except in the north-east corner. Here is at present the highest part of the Mound, rising at its outer north-eastern edge from 10 to 12 feet above the cultivated area, *i.e.*, about 20 feet on an average above the basal mud level. This mound, however, has been largely reduced, and is some 12 feet lower at the eastern limit of our excavation (54, 55, 37, 53). At a point on its southern face we found a party of *sebakh*-diggers hacking into the remains of an early house (44), with small rooms based on the mud. They found here the fragments of a fine figured Fikellura vase (*cp.* infra p. 60 and pl. VII. 2), and we, continuing their work for some little distance further into the cliff, opened out a room in two of whose corners were coarse amphorae built into the thickness of the walls, one containing remains of bronze household utensils, and the other some stone weights. We got also from the lowest stratum hard by some bits of inscribed vases, but no certain dedications. It was not, however, worth our while to push far into a cliff, some 15 feet high and hard as iron, to get only house remains. Not far away to the east (38), at a much higher level, another party of *sebakh*-diggers came on a coarse concrete floor, upon which at different times they found terra-cotta fragments of the Ptolemaic period, and a shallow limestone trough or oblong basin,<sup>1</sup> measuring 26 in. × 18 × 4, scored in the centre with herringbone incisions (perhaps to represent corn), and roughly inscribed round two sides of the rim in lettering of the second century B.C.

#### (d) ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΗΔΗΜΗΤΡΙ

The flooring may be conjectured, therefore, to be that of a Ptolemaic shrine of Demeter. The scanty sherds found hereabouts were also of the same period. Terra-cotta heads of the second and

<sup>1</sup> Left at Ghizeh.

third centuries were found by *sebakh*-diggers in this neighbourhood, and it appeared to be from the highest levels of this north-eastern region that the greater part of the late terra-cottas (largely of Tanagra type or phallic), and other Ptolemaic, Graeco-Egyptian, and Graeco-Roman objects, sold to us during our stay, were derived.

The few remaining lapidary inscriptions are subjoined.

(e) Syenite basis broken L.

ΝΑΚΡΑΤΗΤΟΣ

Ἀνέθηκεν Ἀκράτης.

Cf. supra c, which is of the same period, perhaps the same dedicator.

(f) Marble fragment broken all sides.

IL  
ΠΔΕΠ/

(g) Sandstone fragment, broken all sides.

ΝΙΚ  
Σ  
ΔΥΜ

(h) Limestone fragment broken all sides.

ΑΣ  
ΤΑΤ  
ΚΑ

(i) Small stele with pediment.

Ο///ΟΜ  
ΤΥ  
Γ

(k) Limestone fragment broken at bottom. In the centre a design of circles between the points of a star. On the right edge ΜΟΣΑΙ///. On the left . . . . ΙΗ.

(l) Fragment of soapstone, scratched on both sides. On the obverse appear ΞΕΝ - ΕΡ - ΑΜΦΙΑΤΟΣ - Η. On the reverse Μ - ΟΣΤΥΡ - Χ - ΑΙΡ.

### III.—SUMMARY OF RESULTS.

The main fact, which our exploration has established, is the existence of a great *temenos* partly preserved in the northern part of the Mounds, to the east of the line of *temené* explored by our predecessors, and containing remains of three successive temples in stone and brick of three periods from the sixth century to Ptolemaic. Its western enclosing wall is at least 27 feet thick; the fragment of its southern wall, now much perished, is not less massive. We have cleared the enclosed space for 350 feet in a northerly direction, and only reached the southern edge of the main buildings contained in the area. The northern limit in all probability still lies far distant under the cultivation. Of the return of the southern wall on the east we have found as yet no sign.

This temenos, therefore, is much larger than any other on the site except the great enclosure at the southern extremity, called by Mr. Petrie the "Hellenion." The largest of the other northern *temené*, the so-called "*Heraion*," is roughly 300 feet square, and its walls are 10 feet thick. On the west of the Mounds there is not room for any *temenos* at all equal to ours in extent; and, as a matter of fact, exploration has shown that probably for the most part that quarter was occupied by shops and houses. The southern region produces Egyptian remains only. The centre has been explored thoroughly and the nature of its buildings has been determined in the main. Such part of the Mounds on the North-east as is still unexcavated will contain little more than the south-eastern angle of our Temenos.

This precinct, therefore, is by far the largest and most important that has been found, or apparently can ever have existed, at the Greek end of the site. The only other enclosure of greater or equal size is Mr. Petrie's "Great Temenos" situated far from the region where Greek things are found, at the farther side of the remains of an Egyptian quarter. If that precinct were nevertheless Greek, and indeed the principal Greek precinct, it would be contrary to such reasonable expectation, as may be based on the invariable distinction of populations by race or faith into separate self-contained quarters in eastern towns. To reach the southern precinct the Greek traders, coming from the sea, would have had to sail past their compatriots' quarter and penetrate through the streets of the Egyptians. And, as a matter of fact, that southern precinct, searched from end to end by Mr. Petrie, yielded nothing Greek, but only what was Egyptian. The large structure, whose remains were explored in the southern part of the enclosure, was not only not Greek, but had not apparently any sacred character. No one who looks at its plan will fail to agree with Mr. Petrie's view that it was nothing but a fort. Everything found within the building, as well as in the whole enclosure and the tract north of it for some distance, was incontestably Egyptian, and whether it was a Saite camp of observation, designed to overawe the alien quarter to the north, or a market area, or a religious *temenos*, we may be sure that it was an Egyptian foundation, probably of Psammetichus I, restored by Ptolemy Philadelphus I.

Rather than that, then our North-eastern Temenos, ought to be the "Hellenion" of Herodotus, the "largest, most famous and most frequented"

of the *temenê* in the Greek settlement of Naukratis. We have shown that our Temenos had certainly a religious character and that everything found in it is Greek, ranging from the sixth century downwards. If the words of Herodotus (ii. 178) are taken to mean<sup>1</sup> (though it is unnecessary to interpret them so) that the *Agora*, of which the nine founders of the "Hellenion" were privileged to supply the *πρόσταται*, was held within the precinct, there is ample room for it. If, however, it was held outside, then the doubtful neighbouring area called the "Heraion" would supply a not unlikely site.

Is there, however, any more positive evidence that our Area is the Hellenion? We found a large number of dedications to various Greek deities within the single Enclosure, and it would appear that certain of these deities were specially associated with particular spots; for our Aphrodite and our Dioscuri dedications occurred in distinct "pockets." It seems not improbable that here we have traces of a practice of honouring individual gods at shrines or 'Treasures' situated in a common precinct, which explains the extraordinary excess of vase fragments with dedicatory inscriptions found at Naukratis, over those found on any other Greek site. It was necessary in fact, if you would have the reward of your *ex-voto* to a particular god, to specify his name. Hence a fashion which spread to all shrines in the place, *e.g.* to the little native Aphrodite temple far off at the southern end of the Greek quarter. Our sherds nos. 57, 107, 1 and 30, inscribed 'before the potters' process was complete, show that vases were made to order in Naukratite shops.

But of most significance are the dedications *θεοῖς τοῖς Ἑλλήνων*. It is impossible not to connect these with the *Ἑλλήμιον*. Whatever the precise significance of this unique formula of dedication or of the unique name of the greatest Greek Precinct in Naukratis, they go together; and the occurrence of so many relics of vases so dedicated within our Temenos practically completes the evidence that it is the Temenos called by Herodotus the "Hellenion."

What does the name *Hellenion* signify exactly? According to strict Greek usage it ought to be the title of a sanctuary of a certain god, or gods, qualified as *Ἑλλήμιος* or *Ἑλλήμιοι*. Mr. Edgar compares (*infra* p. 55) the oath sworn in Hdt. v. 49. and 92 by the *θεοὶ Ἑλλήμιοι*: and there can be no doubt that the *Hellenion* was the Precinct rather of these gods

<sup>1</sup> Cf. P. Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek History*, p. 209.

than of Zeus Hellenios. This epithet, applied either to a group of gods or to Zeus, is very rarely alluded to in ancient literature. In the plural it occurs only in the two passages cited above from Herodotus, which are both found in speeches in which Greeks are urged to remember a common nationality. It was appropriate enough under the circumstances of Naukratis. The dedicatory formula on our sherds must be a vulgar but not unnatural variant or corruption of *θεοῖς τοῖς Ἑλλησιν*; and perhaps some of the mutilated inscriptions should be so restored.

To the discussion of the question of the date at which Greeks first settled at Naukratis we make a destructive contribution by urging the inconclusiveness of the archaeological evidence. Mr. Edgar states our position in regard to this below (p. 47). One further point may be noticed here. We found the south of the site to have been occupied exclusively by an Egyptian town with no Greek *temenê* within it. What is the date of this town? prior or posterior to the Greek settlement? No hieroglyphic text found there has given us its name, and at present the *terminus ad quem* of the cartouches on its scarabs or other objects is the reign of Psammetichus I. Some day foundation deposits may be lighted on under the angles of the 'Great Temenos' which will go far to decide the question: but for the present we can only urge the improbability that Amasis should have allowed the Greeks to settle on a site which had no Egyptian garrison. Considering his original attitude to these aliens (Hdt. ii. 169) we may fairly regard his "concession" of Naukratis as a prudent measure of concentration, almost amounting to the repression of a dangerous element, which should no longer be allowed to penetrate at will into the Delta, but be confined to one spot within easy striking distance of Sais. The "Great Temenos" of Mr. Petrie is in all likelihood what remains of the Egyptian camp of observation, designed to watch the populous northern suburb; and is at least contemporary with the beginnings of the latter. How much earlier the Egyptian town<sup>1</sup> may be, it is not possible yet to say.

The literary evidence on this matter of the foundation has been so exhaustively treated by Prof. G. Hirschfeld (*Rhein. Mus.* xlii. p. 209) that we confine ourselves to the archaeological data. It is possible, if Strabo's Inaros be taken to be some unknown individual (p. 801), to reconcile his statements with those of Herodotus, by supposing that the Milesians came

<sup>1</sup> The view of the pre-existence of an Egyptian town at Naukratis is at least as old as Smith's *Dict. of Geog.*, s.v.

alone before Amasis and founded their single Precinct of Apollo and that round that other Precincts were laid out by later settlers. But neither our spades nor those of our predecessors have turned up any relics of Greek Naukratis which in our opinion need be earlier than the date which the words of Herodotus, interpreted naturally, seem to ascribe to the first settlement of Hellenes—about 570 B.C.

The results of our trenching in the long western strip, added to the experience of our predecessors, have left us little stomach for further exploration in that shallow and unproductive region. The southern tract remains to be excavated by some one interested in the Egyptian town, which in all probability was existing before the Greek traders were allowed by Amasis to found their large suburb to the north. The north-eastern corner of the Mound, however, ought to be further explored by us with as little delay as possible. The great enclosure, in which we dug, seems to be continued eastward: the Demeter basin proves the existence of at least one shrine of later times in the area yet undug: the highest strata are very productive. It is, however, the lowest stratum that best repays expenditure at Naukratis, and this lies here, as elsewhere on the site, below a thick belt of hard sand. The *sebakli*-diggers are at work on the upper strata every day, and their labours, ere another year or two years have passed, will have greatly lessened the task that awaits the scientific excavator in this region; but they will also have diminished his gains.

In another quarter a rich return might be expected for a liberal expenditure of money. The Arab village which lies, not on the Mound, but very close to it on the north, certainly covers the site of a cemetery, other than the small Hellenistic one explored in 1884 and now destroyed. Mr. Gardner sank pits on this mound and satisfied himself that it contained burials; and there was brought to us a limestone grave-relief of not bad period and style, found by an Arab of the superjacent village below his house. Any one who will find the money to expropriate this village will in all likelihood discover beneath it tombs from the sixth century onwards and a rich treasure of broken vases and terracottas.

## B.

## THE INSCRIBED AND PAINTED POTTERY.

BY C. C. EDGAR.

§ 1.—All archaeological scholars are familiar with the splendid find of Greek pottery which we owe to Mr. Petrie and Mr. Gardner, and with the incised dedications on which are preserved the handwriting and names of the early inhabitants of Naukratis. Those interested in either subject will find in the following pages some additional material selected from the results of the recent excavation.

But before proceeding to describe this material in detail I wish to say something of a more general character concerning the question to what date the early Greek remains at Naukratis are to be assigned, and whether the results of excavation confirm or disprove the well-known statements of Herodotus regarding the origin of the Greek settlement. The problem as to the age of Naukratis is of archaeological as well as of historical interest, because so few Greek antiquities earlier than 550 B.C. have as yet been satisfactorily dated.

## I.

Mr. Petrie (*Naukr.* i.), supported by Mr. Gardner (*id.* i. and ii.), argued that the Greeks had settled in Naukratis and founded temples there as early at least as 630 B.C., and that, among other things, the fabric of pottery which is now known as Naukratite had been started by about 620 B.C. These conclusions, although contested at the time, appear to be generally acquiesced in. They are accepted for example by M. Joubin in a discussion of Naukratite art (*B.C.H.* 1895, p. 80 ff.), and by M. Perrot in the latest volume of his *magnum opus*, and made to serve as chronological data. If one inquires into the evidence on which this confidence is reposed, it will be found to consist almost entirely of certain careful observations made by Mr. Petrie during the excavations of 1885. Let me begin by restating them.

Near the temple of Aphrodite, not then identified, Mr. Petrie discovered a large hoard of glazed scarabs and clay moulds which he concluded to be anterior to Amasis because the name of that king is not found among them, while the names of his predecessors are more or less common. He concluded also that at least a large number of these scarabs must have been made by Greeks, because many of the hieroglyphs are blundered and many of the designs are not Egyptian, "but are distinctly done by men more familiar with Greek vase-painting than with hieroglyphics." Further, together with these scarabs was found a good deal of painted Greek pottery, most of which was of Naukratite fabric (*Naukr.* i. p. 23). "But this scarab factory is not the oldest thing in the town. Two feet beneath it—and two feet take half a century to accumulate on an average—there is a burnt stratum, which underlies all the south half of the town. Everything out of this stratum is distinctly Greek and not Egyptian, and there is no trace of Egyptian remains in the earlier parts in question."

That, I think, is the sum of what is essential. *Naukr.* i. chap. 3 contains a great many additional notes on the levels at which various kinds of pottery were found; but these do not affect the question before us. Let me record in passing the only observation of this sort that I had occasion to make at Naukratis: on a spot at the north end of the site, within a few feet of each other, were found some hundred fragments of the early Naukratite class, some black-figured ware, and several red-figured kylikes,—all within a few feet of each other, and at exactly the same level.

From Mr. Petrie's description of the burnt stratum, it follows that there was a Greek element of some sort in Naukratis in the seventh century. I cannot but think, however, that his words give an exaggerated impression as regards the *quantity* of Greek remains in the south part of the town. Among the scores of antiquities of all periods that were dug up daily all over the south end of the site during our stay, we did not obtain a single fragment of early Greek work. Almost everything was Egyptian; there were Egyptian relics of the 26th Dynasty; but not a scrap of early Greek pottery was to be found south of the temple of Aphrodite.

The Greek pottery found in the burnt stratum is described, *Naukr.* i. p. 22. It is sufficient to note that the rather insignificant list does not include any of the fine painted Naukratite ware.

As to the deposit of scarabs and glazed ware, Mr. Petrie argues, (1) that the manufacture collapsed shortly after the accession of Amasis, and that

in fact its collapse was due to that event ; (2) that for some time previous to this it had been in the hands of the Greeks. The first of these conclusions appears to be well grounded, but the second is more than doubtful. It is a false assumption that everything in Naukratis that is not Egyptian must be Greek, and surely this mongrel fabric cannot be Greek. The similar glazed ware found at Kameiros has always been ascribed to the Phoenicians,<sup>1</sup> and the fact, or probability, that the home of the fabric was in Naukratis is in perfect accord with this view. That the Phoenicians had a footing in Naukratis at an early period is proved independently by the numerous *Tridacna* shells,<sup>2</sup> both wrought and unwrought, that have been discovered there.

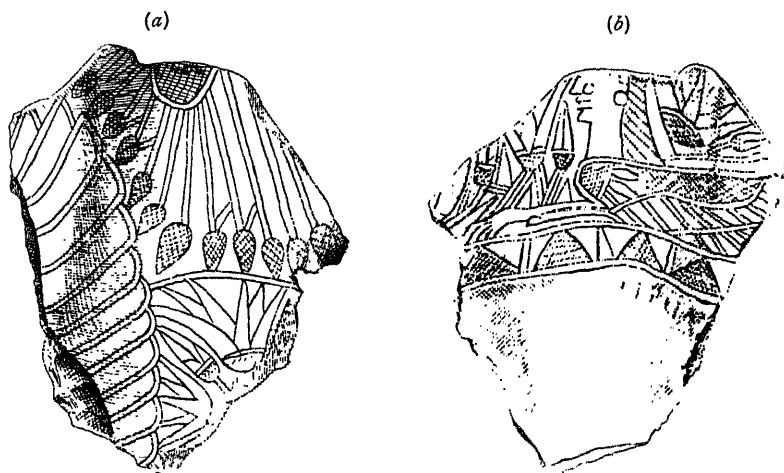


FIG. 1 (size  $\frac{2}{3}$ ).

It is quite true that we find in Naukratis a certain amount of blue glazed ware, "Egyptian porcelain," which is purely Greek in style *e.g.* fragments of vases with Greek figures in relief. But this is a late fabric, and has no connection with the early ware from the scarab factory. It is true also that among the non-Egyptian glazed ware found at Naukratis and Kameiros there are one or two motives which are part of the

<sup>1</sup> Perrot and Chipiez, vol. iii. pp. 674 ff. ; Boehlau, *Ion. v. Ital. Nekr.*, pp. 160 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See *Naukr.* i. p. 35. Besides several unwrought *Tridacna* shells we obtained this year two more incised fragments, the larger of which is shown above (Fig. 1). The design in the interior (b) recurs on the specimen from Canino in the Br. Mus. ; with the exterior pattern (a) cf. *Naukr.* i. Pl. XX. 16a. I cannot agree with M. Perdrizet who would assign the incised shells to an Assyrian fabric (*B.C.H.* 1896, p. 605), although it is admittedly true (as of many other Phoenician products) that most of the patterns and motives are derived from Assyrian art.

stock-in-trade of archaic Greek art, *e.g.* the seated lion and the browsing goat. But these are commonplaces in Phoenician art also, and are in fact a main element in the likeness between the figure friezes on the Kameiros "porcelain" and those on the bronze bowls of Nineveh and Cyprus.

The fact that a good deal of Naukratite pottery was found along with the scarabs is far from being a proof that the two were contemporary. It is clear that this pottery was part of the refuse from the neighbouring temple of Aphrodite discovered in the following season. One of the fragments in fact bore a dedication to Aphrodite (*Naukr.* i. pl. v. 37); and this year again, near the same spot, we found among a great number of scarab moulds several fragments of the same ware dedicated to the same goddess (Nos. 25, 26, 28, 48). It is not difficult to see how broken pottery thrown out of the temple could become intermixed with the earlier *débris* round about. The ground has to be levelled for house-building or street-making; waste heaps have to be scattered and mixed with each other; and so forth. It is unnecessary to attach the slightest weight to this particular item of evidence.

To summarize what Mr. Petrie's observations appear to me to indicate: there were foreigners in Naukratis before the accession of Amasis and there was also commerce between Naukratis and Greece. These foreigners were mainly Phoenicians. They had a market in Greece for their imitations of Egyptian faience, no doubt selling them as the real Egyptian article; and perhaps a certain amount of Greek work was brought back to Egypt. It is also probable that Greek traders were finding their way to Naukratis as early as the seventh century. On the other hand there is no proof to be obtained from the actual condition of the remains that there was a large settled Greek colony before the time of Amasis, or that until his accession there was a single Greek temple. Nor is there any *external* evidence that the fine Naukratite pottery was being manufactured as early as 620 B.C.

It appears further that shortly after the death of Apries the Phoenicians for some reason either gave up their Egyptian business or removed it elsewhere. Presumably there was no room for them under the new order.

Is any more definite conclusion attainable from the internal evidence of style and epigraphy? Not from style. One may point out, as M. Joubin and others have done, changes in technique, changes in the subjects repre-

sented, and so forth ; but to attempt to date these changes on the ground of inherent probability is merely a futile pastime. As regards epigraphy the inscriptions unfortunately have no historical import ; they are all of a private character, and no public event is mentioned in them. It is in fact a question of palaeography merely.

The dedications inscribed on the pottery which is characteristically Naukratite and part of which has been assigned to the seventh century are extremely numerous, and we may safely assume that they contain all the forms of the Ionian alphabet that were in use at Naukratis during the period over which the said fabric or fabrics extend. From the *painted* dedications on the native ware, in which it is certain that no stranger can have had a hand, we can reconstruct the alphabet of this period as follows :—

Α Γ Δ Ε Ι Η Θ Ι Κ Λ Μ Ν Ο Π Ρ Σ Τ Υ Φ Ψ Ω.

The incised dedications on the native ware exhibit the same forms with the following additions and variations (I omit minor idiosyncrasies):— $\mathbb{E}$ , E ;  $\oplus$  more frequently than the other form ;  $\Xi$ ,  $\equiv$  ;  $\varsigma$  ;  $\chi$ . The closed *eta*,  $\mathbb{H}$ , occurs once or twice, but had certainly gone out of ordinary use by this period ; there is perhaps a stray example of it in Pl. IV. 7. The 3-stroke *sigma* is very rare, if not a mere slip (cf. Pl. IV. 8.).  $\Omega$  is in universal use. The writing is occasionally retrograde, but in the great majority of cases it runs from left to right.

Such was the alphabet employed at Naukratis during the period (of 100 years according to Mr. Petrie) over which the local fabric extends. Nor can these dedications be divided into earlier and later groups according to the forms of the letters employed. We know that the  $\theta$  in No. 2 is of an older type than the  $\theta$  in No. 4, but we cannot tell which of the two dedications is actually the older.

Considering all this can any one maintain that there is anything in these inscriptions of too archaic an appearance to be assigned to the reign of Amasis? On the contrary, if we ascribe them to a period extending from about 570 to about 520, is not that most consistent with all we know of the archaic Ionian alphabet?

Thus the evidence of epigraphy, such as it is, goes to show that the painted pottery peculiar to Naukratis dates from the age of Amasis. But further, among the whole mass of inscriptions, no matter on what kind of

ware and no matter in what dialect, are there any that demand an earlier date? Considering the scanty data Prof. Hirschfeld perhaps draws too rigid a division (*Rh. Mus.* 1887, p. 209 ff.). On the evidence of the lettering alone I do not believe that a single one of the early Naukratite inscriptions could be safely dated to within fifty years. But the observations and comparisons of Hirschfeld and Kirchhoff certainly prove that none of them are *necessarily* earlier.

Mr. Gardner, it is true, has insisted that a certain small group of dedications is decidedly anterior to any of the others, and must belong to the seventh century. But so far are these half-dozen inscriptions from establishing the date of Naukratis that even if they themselves were proved on external evidence to be as early as Mr. Gardner claims, the theory on which he bases his conclusion would remain as unconvincing as ever.<sup>1</sup>

Such, it appears to me, is the gist of the archaeological evidence with regard to the settlement of the Greeks in Naukratis. By itself it is wholly insufficient to decide the question one way or the other. The simple truth is we are too ignorant of the history of the Greek arts to assert that some of the Naukratite vases and statuettes must have been made before 570 B.C., and we do not know enough about Greek palaeography to prove that none of the inscriptions can date from 600 B.C. It remains primarily a question of historical criticism,—a question whether there is any truth in the Milesian tradition recorded by Strabo, that the Milesians founded

<sup>1</sup> Let me add a few more detailed criticisms. Mr. Gardner sets apart a group of five fragmentary inscriptions, which exhibit certain abnormal forms of  $\epsilon$ ,  $\mu$ ,  $\nu$ , and  $\sigma$ , and for four of these he claims a very early date. Let us take  $\nu$  first. No. 67 (see *Naukr.* i. Pl. XXXII.), and it alone of the five, contains a  $\nu$  which resembles a 3-stroke *sigma*. As, however, the same form occurs on several dedications which are admittedly later (Nos. 81, 135, 254), is it not the reverse of logical to claim No. 67 as a seventh-century inscription on the strength of this single peculiarity? To say nothing of the fact that to an impartial eye the abnormal form is nothing more than the ordinary form carelessly written. Nos. 1b, 3, and 305 contain an *eta* laid on its side. As 305 is acknowledged not to be early, as the same form occurs at a much later period elsewhere (*Ath. Mitth.* xv. p. 418), as it cannot be explained as an early independent form, but is satisfactorily explained as a comparatively late error (*loc. cit.*), it is plain that the said letter is no proof of an early date. Mr. Gardner discovers three instances of a  $\mu$  shaped like a  $\nu$  (Nos. 1b, 3, 4)—for my part I can only see one clear instance, *i.e.* No. 3—and explains ingeniously how the form *may* have arisen at an early period when the *sigma*-shaped  $\nu$  was in use. But as we have seen that there is not the slightest evidence that the *sigma*-shaped  $\nu$  was used (or even *misused*) in the seventh century, it follows that the possibility of the  $\nu$ -shaped  $\mu$  being a regular seventh century form and not a mere sixth-century slip is still more remote. As for the examples of an abnormal *sigma* (Nos. 1b, 3, 4, 305, five in number and four in type!) it will be time enough to discuss them when it has been settled which of them are intended for  $\sigma$  and which for  $\nu$ .

Naukratis in the reign of Psammetichos I. I am not proposing to discuss the historical evidence. My object has been merely to show the groundlessness of the prevalent impression that the discoveries made at Naukratis present an insuperable obstacle to our accepting the statements of Herodotus that it was Amasis who settled the Greeks in Naukratis (and confined them to Naukratis), and that all the *τεμένη* date from his reign.<sup>1</sup>

## 2.

Facsimiles of a large number of inscribed vase-fragments excavated this year will be found on Pls. IV. and V. They are arranged, as far as convenient, according to fabric. For their bearing on the identification of temple sites I refer to Mr. Hogarth's paper. It is unnecessary to state the provenance of each separate inscription: the only thing I need mention is that the dedications to Aphrodite, where it is not stated otherwise in the notes, come from the lately discovered shrine at the north end of the site.

Among the inscribed fragments not published are a great many base-marks of the same character as *Naukr. i. Pl. XXXIII., XXXIV. passim.*

Nos. 1-19 are on bowls of the same shape as *Naukr. i. Pl. X., 11.* These bowls are ornamented on the outside with bands of brown-black paint; the inside is covered with a black glaze over which a few bands of *red* are painted at intervals. The fabric is Naukratite, as is partly proved by the fact that several of the dedications are painted, *e.g.* No. 1. On Nos. 2-5 the dedication is incised on the outside, but as a rule it is found on the inside of these vases.

1. .. ἀνέ[θηκεν] .. Painted in white on the black glaze.
2. θε[οῖσι] .. ?
3. Ἡρακ[λέος].
- 4, a and b. με ἀ[νέ]θηκε[ε] ..

<sup>1</sup> The position of the *τέμενος* of Apollo, enclosed as it is at either end by other *τεμένη*, is against its having been the centre of a Milesian colony before the coming of the Samians and the other Greeks, and is more in accord with the view that the various grants of land for the building of temples were made about the same time.

As was suggested by Prof. Hirschfeld, we may draw a distinction between the temples founded and frequented by the traders who went to and fro between Naukratis and their native cities and the temples of the permanent inhabitants; although no doubt the distinction would tend to become obliterated as more people from the various Greek cities settled in Egypt. The temple of Aphrodite was certainly of the latter kind; dedications on the local pottery were wonderfully abundant here, many of them being painted, *i.e.* made to order, and the goddess is entitled "the Aphrodite of Naukratis." According to Herodotus the temple of Apollo was of the former class; and with this statement accords the fact that the god is constantly named "the Milesian Apollo," as though the temple in Naukratis were a branch office, so to say, of the great temple at home rather than the religious centre of a new colony.

5. Παντα.. Beginning of the dedicator's name.
8. ..os μ[ἀνέθηκε..
9. Similar, with punctuation.
10. ..μας ἀν[έθηκε..
11. ..εἰ]μί.
12. 'Ο[. ἀνέθηκεν.. δ]...το(ν). The inscription almost meets round the inside of the vase.
14. θεοῖσι.. Another fragment of the same ware has τοῖσι θεοῖσι..
- 15, 17. Similar.
18. ..'Ελ(λ)ή[νων.
19. ..ξ το(ῖ)σ[ι...? Cf. 95.

Nos. 20-24 are inscribed on cups of the same kind as several on which has been found the name Hera painted (*Naukr.* ii. 847, 848). For the fabric see note on No. 30. The inside and the lower part of the outside are coated with a poor black glaze. The dedications are incised on the upper part of the outside.

20. Γλ[αυκος μᾶνέθ[ηκε] τῆρ(η, *i.e.* τῇ "Ηρῃ.
21. ..αθος μᾶν[έθηκε]..
22. Part of name, *e.g.* 'Ερ]μαγα[θινός.
23. 'Ερι.. Retrograde.
24. Διο[σκόροισι.

Nos. 25-29 are on the fine white-faced pottery characteristic of Naukratis. 25 and 26 are painted. 25, 26, and 28 were found near Mr. Gardner's temple of Aphrodite, where this class of pottery was particularly abundant.

25. Τίσαν[δρος]..
26. Cf. *Naukr.* ii. no. 747, where Mr. Gardner suggests Γαληνίων.
27. Μνησι[κλῆς].. The ν is a correction.
28. τῇ 'Αφ[ροδίτῃ.
29. ..ης μᾶνέ[θηκε]..

Nos. 30-38 are inscribed on vases of the same form as *Naukr.* i. Pl. X. 4 etc. (cf. Boehlau, Pl. VIII. 21, 24). The outside is ornamented with broad and narrow bands of black; the inside is sometimes striped, sometimes glazed all over; the red bands of Nos. 1-19 are never found. This may be regarded as the typical Ionian kylix. It is doubtful whether any of the examples found in Naukratis were made there.

The inscriptions are incised on the outside of the vase, usually round the neck.

30. "Ηρ[η]. Painted in black on the neck. Cf. the cups, *Naukr.* ii. Nos. 847, 848. The letters ..ρη are found incised on a similar kylix, also on a fragment of b.f. ware, and on No. 99; in these cases "Ηρῃ may be restored on the analogy of the painted dedications and of *Naukr.* ii. Nos. 841-5. The form of dedication—the deity's name in the nominative—is unique among the Naukratite inscriptions. The temple of Hera at Naukratis was a Samian establishment. Probably therefore the form was a customary one in Samos, and probably the kylikes and cups with these painted dedications are of Samian fabric.

31. ..ἀνέ[θηκε] τῶπ[ό]λλωνι.
32. *a* and *b.* ἐμ' ἀνέ[θηκε]..]ι Τηλέστρατος.
33. 'Ηρακλέος.
34. κ[ύ]λιξ ἐμ[ι].. The fourth letter is indistinct, but there can be no doubt about the restoration. Cf. *Εὐθυμῆς* εἰμί ἡ κύλιξ, Hoffmann, *Gr. Dial.* iii. p. 69.
- 35-38.<sup>1</sup> Dedications to the Dioskouroi.

Nos. 39 and 40 are incised on that dark grey ware on which Mr. Gardner discovered a number of Lesbian dedications (*Naukr.* ii. Nos. 786-793) and which has since been known as Lesbian. No. 39 however is not in the Lesbian alphabet, which does not distinguish between ε and η.

The following inscriptions, 41-57, are on various kinds of pottery, most of which are archaic.

41. 'Αρ]χιτέλεος.

<sup>1</sup> No. 37 has been inserted by mistake. As it stands it is upside down. It really is 'Π..

42. Σύμφορος . .
43. . . ευστος ἀνέθηκε. On a thick ragment of the same style as Pl. vi., 7, 8.
44. Φοῖνιξ.
45. τοῖσι Διοσκόροις.
46. . . ἀνέθηκεν Ἀφροδίτῃ. Round the central disc in the interior of a b.f. kylix, not Attic. The disc, which is left plain, is surrounded by erotic representations.
47. ?
48. Χαλκιδεὺς ἀνέθηκεν Ἀφροδίτῃ. On a Naukratite fragment found near Gardner's Aphrodite temple. Χαλκιδεὺς must be a personal name here.
49. Διοσκόρων. With a *κορφα*. On the foot of an early kylix, not Attic.
50. Ἀμικάρτου. Retrograde. A Phoenician name Hellenized, as Melkarth—Melikertes? Black-glazed Attic ware.
50. α, β, γ. Painted on the outside of b.f. Attic kylikes. On the inside of δ is part of a tongue pattern in red and black, surrounding the central disc.
- α. Ἐργότιμος . .
- β. Ἐργότιμος . .
- γ. Part of an artist's name, Ἐξακ . . ?
51. δ δεῖνα δ . . ]<sup>λ</sup> μωνος το(ῦ) Χίου τῷ Ἀπ(ό)λλωνι. Or δ ἱερὺς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Χίου τῷ Ἀπ(ό)λλωνι τῷ Μιλησίῳ? On a fragment of a large vase in the same style as Pl. VI., 7, 8; the letters run along the back and down the tail of a bull. The writer is somewhat sparing of his *omegas*.
54. Ἀφροδίτῃ Πυ . . On foot of kylix, not Attic, with red and white bands on the black glaze.
55. α and β. The two fragments do not fit together so as to make δ Κλαζομένιος.
56. Εἰνικός. On foot of lamp, black-glazed.
57. . . εσιος Διοσκόροις. Incised in the wet clay, round the rim of a lamp. The lamp is unornamented and of the coarsest fabric, and has evidently seen service. It was probably therefore an offering *intended for use* in the temple.
58. On a stone horse. See Pl. XIV. 11, and pp. 30, 39. Νυμφηγέτης is found as an epithet of Apollo (e.g. Roberts, *Gr. Epig.* p. 59), but here it is probably the personal name of some mortal.
59. On a horse of the same kind, much defaced.
- Nos. 60–80 are inscribed on the necks of black-glazed kylikes, presumably all Attic. The form is that of *Br. Mus. Cat.* ii. p. 5, fig. 16, the neck being slightly concave. No. 60 is on a fragment of a b.f. kylix; the others, so far as they are preserved, appear to have been glazed black all over.
60. δ δεῖνα δ]Χίος Ἀφροδίτῃ.
61. ἱερή (i.e. ἡ κύλιξ).
62. Ποσειδώνιος or Ποσειδῶνι.
63. Ἡρακλέος. Or a personal name.
64. . . Ἑλληνῶν Ἀθη . .
65. Ἀρτεμίδωρος or Ἀρτέμιδι.
66. Ἀπολλογνώδωρος.
67. . . με. Ligature.
68. . . μιεφ ?
69. . . ναξ ἀνέθηκε . .
70. . . αξ τοῖσι . .
71. θεοῖσι τοῖς Ἑλληνῶν or possibly Ἑλληνίοις.
72. θεοῖσι τοῖς Ἑλληνῶν or Ἑλληνίοις.
- 73–76. Similar formula, but all certainly Ἑλληνῶν.
77. θεῶν τῶν Ἑλληνῶν or Ἑλληνίων.
- 78–80. Similar. There are other fragments of the same kind. With the dedications θεοῖσι τοῖς Ἑλληνῶν, etc., ought to be compared the Greek oath πρὸς θεῶν τῶν Ἑλληνίων (līdt. v. 49).

Probably the name Hellenion in Naukratis simply meant the *temenos* of the θεοὶ Ἕλληνοί; as the Olympieion = the temple of Zeus Olympios.

Nos. 81, 82 are on the outside of black-glazed kylikes without neck, 83, 84 on the neck or kylikes of less fine fabric, and 85 on a skyphos of similar ware.

81. . . τ[οῖς] Ἑλλή[νων].

83. Δίφιλ[ος].

84. Ἀρτέμων Ἡρακ(λ)εῖ[ι].

85. α, β. . . αἰ. . . ρας Ἀρτάμ[τι]. Doric.

Nos. 86-89 are inscribed inside the foot of Attic kylikes.

86. Ἀ]φροδίτης.

87. Short for Ἀφροδίτης.

88. Ἀφ]ροδίτης.

89. . . κλεος.

Nos. 90-103 are on the interior of Attic kylikes. 95 and 102 are on b.f. ware; 92-94 on r.f.; as regards the others there is no indication.

91. Ἀ]φροδίτη.

92. See Pl. VIII., No. 10.

93. Ἀφρ]οδίτα δ. . . Doric. H as aspirate.

95. θε[οῖς] το[ῖς] Ἑ[λλήνων].

96. . . αὖ θεο[ῖς] . .

97. θε[οῖς] . .

98. Part of name.

99. See note on 30.

100. Retrograde.

104. Καλλι. . . On a black-glazed fragment.

105. . . υης or . . χης.

106. Ἑλ(λ)ήνων θε[οῖς]. Round central disc in the interior of a kylix. Cf. Θότιμος, *Naukr.* ii. 781.

107. τῇ Πανδήμ[φ]. On the rim of large r.f. vase. Two other dedications (*Naukr.* ii. 818, 821) show that this was a common title of Aphrodite at Naukratis.

108. Ἀρ]χεδίκη. On the inside of the foot of a red and black vase. There was a famous Naukratite hetaira of this name (called Ἀρχιδίκη by Herodotus ii. 135, but Ἀρχεδίκη by Aelian and Athenaeus). As she lived between the time of Rodopis and that of Herodotus, it is quite possible that this is her signature, or the offering of one of her lovers.

Nos. 109-111. On the bases of r. and b. vases.

109. . . μυκυθω. Μικυθώ is a possible name.

111. Ἀρτόμωνος (Ἀρτέμανος?) τὸ κánaσθον το(ῦ)το. κánaσθον (probably a slip for κánaσθρον) must mean the vase on which the owner has written his name, and may therefore be put down as equivalent to κánaστρον, which word occurs in the pseudo-Homeric epigram describing the potter's trade,—εὖ δὲ πεπανθεῖεν κότυλοι καὶ πάντα κánaστρα. The vase in question is apparently a kylix with a ring-base (cf. *Br. Mus. Cat.* iii. p. 11, fig. 3).

112. Τέως το(ῦ) ἐστὶ τοῦστρακον (=Teos, his is the potsherd). On a black-glazed fragment. Teos is the Hellenised name of a late Egyptian king (364-361 B.C.), but the same name may have been current in Naukratis at an earlier period (cf. *Naukr.* ii. No. 78, Τέω ἐμὶ σῆμα). The fragment, as one can see from the run of the writing, was of the same size when Teos scratched his name upon it as it is now. The inscription appears to be of about the same archaeological significance as *Pickwick*, chap. xi. "Bil Stumps, his mark."

Nos. 113-115. On the bases of black-glazed bowls with stamped patterns of palmettes, &c., inside (cf. *Berl. Cat.* p. 785 ff.)

113. Καλλικλ. . .

114. Cypriote. Κα·Fa· (reading retrograde).

115. Γοργίας φιλεῖ [Τά]μυνιν

καὶ Τάμυνις Γοργίαν φιλεῖ.

Τάμυνις and Τάμουνις (see Pape-Benseler) may be renderings of the same Egyptian name, in

which case the above lines (which presumably are intended for verse) commemorate a mutual attachment between Gorgias and an Egyptian youth. Or Ταμννίς may be the feminine of the ethnic Ταμνεύς (cf. βασιλεύς—βασιλῆς), although the form that is actually found is Ταμννής. Cf. the couplet inscribed on the base of a Rhodian kylix (*J.H.S.* 1885 p. 372):—

Φίλτως ἡμὶ τὰς καλὰς  
ἂ κύλιξ ἂ ποικιλὰ.

116. . . os εἶμι ἔδωκε δέ με Ἄ. . . Not given in facsimile. From a fragment, now lost, of the same class as Nos. 30–38. The form of the dedication is unusual.

I have only to add that the *dedications* in the above list cover a period of about a hundred years, as may be concluded from the character of the writing and the character of the pottery. The practice of dedicating vases in the temples appears to have almost died out at Naukratis before the middle of the fifth century.

### 3.

The find of painted pottery in the recent brief excavation, although it includes some interesting pieces, was very much poorer than on the two former occasions. The early local pottery was disappointingly scarce. But it is remarkable how *representative* a collection of vase-fragments can be obtained at Naukratis in the course of a few days' work. Perhaps no other site covering a similar period of years has yielded specimens of so many different fabrics.

Of the early kinds of pottery that are *not* found, the most conspicuous by its absence is the proto-Corinthian. Considering how widely it was exported, and particularly how common it is at Kameiros, its absence here cannot be accidental; it must certainly have been a forgotten fabric by the time the Greeks came to Naukratis.

Pl. VI, Nos. 1–6 are specimens (somewhat second-rate, unfortunately) of the typical Naukratite ware (*Naukr.* ii. chap. 5 A). The clay is covered inside and outside with a thick white coat. On the inside, however, the white covering is concealed by a black glaze on which various devices, chiefly floral, are painted in white and red. This technique is an old one, and had probably been in constant use in the Aegean from a very early date. It is exactly the same as that of the prehistoric pottery of Kamarais, and the two wares are remarkably alike in their general effect.

In spite of certain resemblances, I think it is going too far to assume that this technique must be an imitation of inlaid metal-work. (Boehlau *Ion. u. It. Nekr.* pp. 95 ff.) The black glaze probably originated as an

improvement upon the black polished surface of the primitive period. Thus at Phylakopi we find the primitive red hand-polished slip succeeded by a shining red surface *not polished*, i.e. a kind of glaze. Not only so, but we find designs painted in white on the primitive polished surface,—a technique which may be derived from the custom of filling the *incised* designs with white. Thus the genesis of the style, of which the Kamarais vases are a brilliant example, is sufficiently accounted for. Further, I see no reason for assuming that this prehistoric technique died out in the prehistoric age and was afterwards re-invented. Much more probably, it survived in various localities during the dark centuries which precede the Aegean renaissance. Even in the mature Mycenaean style (the 3rd style) we frequently find patterns painted in white on a broad band of dark glaze.

No. 2.—Part of helmeted head. We find on the vases of Naukratis the same two types of helmet that are characteristic of other Ionian schools (*B.C.H.* 1893, p. 429). No. 2 shows the type with a metal hook in front and with the crest erected on a stem. In the other type, of which there is a good example on a fragment in the British School at Athens, the crest is directly attached to the helmet as in Pl. VIII., No. 4.

No. 3.—Cf. the Fikellura fragment, Pl. VI., 12a.

On Nos. 1-3, as is usual in this class of pottery, the heads are drawn in outline and incised lines are not employed. Nos. 4 and 5 are in the black-figured style—a technique in which the Naukratite fabric is at a disadvantage, as owing to the white ground it is impossible to render the flesh of the women by white.

No. 6.—Spout of vase in form of ram's head.

No. 7.—White slip, brown-black paint with touches of applied red, incised lines. In the upper frieze, lotus ornament incised in the black glaze and painted white: the white has faded. The black band dividing the friezes shows traces of red and white stripes (horizontal). Inside plain.

No. 8.—Similar. The lotus incised on the black glaze is painted *red*. Below is part of a frieze of browsing goats, presumably without incised markings.

The mixed style illustrated by the two lower friezes of No. 8 has often been commented upon. In the present case, we have three successive friezes in the three different styles. The upper part is in the same technique as the inside of many Naukratite vases (*e.g.* *Naukr.* ii. Pl. VIII., 2; cf.

remarks on Nos. 1-3). There is also a small class of vases in which this is the sole technique employed (see Bochlau pp. 89 ff.). It is noticeable that the ornamentation of these vases has in several respects a very close resemblance to Phoenician work (*e.g.* Br. Mus. A 1003, a triangular arrangement of three bows with a palmette at each corner).

The second row in Nos. 7 and 8 is in the b.f. style. On similar fragments, we find the interstrewn ornamentation tend to degenerate into the mere blotches that disfigure the pottery of Corinth; in Nos. 7 and 8, especially No. 7, it is still distinct and varied. The subject represented on No. 7 occurs also in the technique of Nos. 1-3, *i.e.* drawn chiefly in outline without incised markings.

Naukratis was certainly one of the homes, and perhaps the chief home, of this mixed style, and Nos. 7 and 8 are presumably both Naukratite. But even among the similar fragments found at Naukratis there are some which one would hesitate to assign to a native fabric, and I prefer to accept the view of Dr. Bochlau that the style was not restricted to Naukratis and did not originate there, and that the fragments which he publishes, Pl. XII. 2, 4, 5 etc., were more probably made in Asia Minor.

Pl. VII., Nos. *a, b, c, d.* Parts of one vase, of which there are several other fragments. Found at the bottom of well 50. It has been an *oinochoe* of the same shape as *J.H.S.* vi. p. 186, *Arch. Anz.* 1886 p. 139. White slip, much faded; black paint with touches of applied red. Nos. 1-3 show the shoulder frieze. The handle stood between the pattern on No. 1 and a similar pattern facing the other way. This frieze is in the b.f. style, the birds being incised. Below are two friezes of goats in the two traditional attitudes; no incised lines. Base surrounded by pointed radii. Traces of white and red on the bands dividing the friezes.

This vase forms a companion to the *oinochoe* from Kameiros mentioned above. The interstrewn ornamentation is the same in the b.f. frieze as in the lower ones. The third frieze contains a somewhat comical makeshift; the painter has miscalculated, and finding himself left without space enough to complete his last goat has condensed its body into a round ball. Less conspicuous traces of the same difficulty may be detected on other friezes of this kind.

Pl. VI., Nos. 9, *a, b, c.* From the same vase, a large *lebes*. Firm red clay, white coat on the outside, paint black (burned red in places), incised lines, applied red and white.

This has been a beautiful vase. The purely decorative animal-frieze of Ionian art is here vivified by the varied attitudes of the stags and horses. One or two fragments of the same ware have been found at Naukratis, but the fabric cannot be Naukratite; the clay is different, and the style is very different. Nor can it be Cyrenaean, as the method of drawing the horse is sufficient to show. Its home must be sought in Asia Minor. The stags recall the fleeing stags on Caeretan *hydriae* (*B.C.H.* 1892, p. 259; *Ant. Denk.* i. Pl. 45). More close, however, is the resemblance between the horses and those on the sarcophagi of Klazomenai and the (imported) pottery found at Defenneh. The ornamental saddle-cloths and harness, the lines of white dots, the strong open jaws and the finely shaped legs prove that our fragments belong to a fabric of the same school.

No. 10. Same fabric. Male figure dancing.

Pl. VII., No. 2. From the shoulder of a "Fikellura" or Samian amphora, of which there exist many more pieces. Usual technique, applied red, no incised lines. On the other side of shoulder two similar sphinxes on each side of a complicated pattern of spirals and palmettes, almost like an anticipation of the designs on the shoulders of Attic *lekythoi*. Scale pattern on the body of the vase, crescent pattern below, and pointed radii round the foot.

Pl. VI., Nos. 12, *a*, *b*, *c*. From the body of a Samian vase. Usual technique, no incised lines, no red. (No. 13 is turned too much to one side in the Pl.)

Pl. VI., No. 11. Samian.

This fabric, which Dr. Boehlau has shown good reason for attributing to Samos, is fairly common at Naukratis. Fragments were found with the usual patterns, crescent rows, network, hare and hound, &c. The design on VI. 2 recurs on another Samian fragment from Naukratis in the British Museum. The scene on VI. 12 is very similar to that on the Altenburg vase (Boehlau, p. 57, fig. 27, 28): 12, *b* contains the additional motive of a reveller mounted on the shoulders of a comrade. The attenuated necks of the *oinochoai* in 12, *c* may be merely due to that love of fineness which is characteristic of the school.

Pl. VIII. Nos. 1-3 belong to a fabric of which a great many specimens were found at Defenneh and which is fairly common at Naukratis also. The other class of early ware that is characteristic of Defenneh, the painted *situlae*, is not found at Naukratis. These *situlae* are supposed, chiefly on

account of their Egyptian shape, to have been made in Egypt, and considering their character and their provenance, it is at least probable that they were either made *in* Egypt or *for* Egypt. In either case, it is strange that there should be no trace of them in Naukratis if Naukratis was a Greek city about 600 B.C. Nor has any Naukratite pottery been found in Defenneh. The other main class of Defenneh pottery (*e.g.* Pl. VIII. Nos. 1-3) has no connection with the *situlae* and not the least sign of Egyptian origin. It is a purely Anatolian fabric: it no doubt lasted many decades; and it was regularly exported to both the earlier and the later centre of Greek life in Egypt, *i.e.* to Defenneh and to Naukratis.

Pl. VIII. No. 1. From panel on body of vase. Brown-black paint; applied white and red; incised.

The fragment bears a representation of a nude figure holding in the right hand a cock, of which nothing but the tail remains. The object below appears to be the tail-end of another cock of much larger size; the two long tail-feathers are visible above the shoulder of the nude figure. On the fragments from Defenneh, similar white figures appear on horseback, and have been usually regarded as female: but Dr. Zahn maintains that they are intended to represent boys (*Darstellung der Barbaren*, p. 62), which certainly is more probable. Necklaces like that on VIII. 1 are worn by Satyrs on other fragments of the same ware (*Jahrb.* 1895, p. 43, Fig. 5). No one has succeeded in finding a myth or meaning in these representations, and it is much more likely that they signify nothing definite.

If the above restoration is correct, Pl. VIII, No. 1 may be compared with the fragment of a Klazomenian sarcophagus in the British Museum (*Ant. Denk.*, Pl. 46, 3), which shows a youth holding a cock in either hand with a dog and a huge cock standing on each side of him. The dogs are explained by Loeschcke as evil spirits of the underworld and the cocks as apotropaic, but this interpretation is rightly rejected by Deneken (Roscher, i. p. 2586). Our fragment helps to show that the representation is merely one of the stock motives of the school without any funereal significance. The difference in size, on both fragments, between the bird held in the hand and the bird on the ground merely shows that the design is combined out of two decorative items and did not originate as a single realistic scene.

Pl. VIII. Nos. 2, *a* and *b*. From one large vase. Brown-black paint: incised: applied red and white. The head of the Siren in the second frieze is outlined in brown paint (*after* the application of the white): the head in the top frieze is not drawn in outline at all. The red and white

accessories have as usual been painted in after the process of incising. The Sirens wear earrings and necklaces. There is a studied variety in the shape and pose of the wings. With the second frieze compare *Terra-cotta Sarco-phagi in Br. Mus.* Pl. I. The long-legged birds feeding in the bottom frieze occur on another vase of the same fabric (Br. Mus. B. 110; cf. the friezes of geese on early Attic pottery, e.g. *Ath. Mitth.* 1893, Pl. II.).

Pl. VIII., No. 3. From shoulder of large vase. Incised lines: applied red and white.

So far as I know, this is the only example on this fabric of a frieze of animals other than birds and Sirens. The ram and the panther are very common on another Anatolian fabric of the same period, the so-called Pontic vases.

Pl. VIII., No. 4. Helmeted warrior holding shield with symbol. Dark brown paint, uneven: incised lines: white dots applied after incision.

This fragment is not of the same fabric as Pl. VIII, Nos. 1-3, although allied to them in style. It belongs to a class of pottery which is usually put down as an Etruscan imitation of Greek work (*Br. Mus. Cat.*, ii. p. 37; *Röm. Mitth.* 1888, p. 174; *Ath. Mitth.* 1898, p. 65). In the clay, the paint, the white dots round the shield, there is the closest similarity between No. 4 and Br. Mus. B. 61. The finding of this isolated fragment at Naukratis does not of course afford any clue as to the seat of the fabric.

Pl. VIII., No. 5. Streaky brown paint in parts, coarse black in others; incised lines: applied white.

This fragment also recalls the quasi-Etruscan vases, both in appearance and in subject.

Pl. VIII., No. 6. Light-coloured clay. On the garment incised lines and applied red. Letters apparently . . . *πια*.

Corinthian pottery was comparatively scarce, and most of the fragments belonged to large craters, chiefly of the red-clay variety. Several crater-handles, like No. 6, were obtained, with representations of male and female heads, sirens, &c.

Pl. VIII., No. 7. Inside, a thin red band over the black glaze. Between the two figures *χαίρε καὶ [π]ίε εὖ*.

Pl. VIII., No. 8. From central disk in interior of b.f. kylix. The outline of the profile is both painted and incised.

No class of pottery is more common at Naukratis than kylikes of the 'Kleinmeister' type, although the only artist's signature that we obtained was that of Ergotimos (Pl. IV., Nos. 50 a, b). With perhaps one exception

(subject erotic: inside not glazed), all the fragments of kylikes with miniature representations were purely Attic, and there was no indication of the miniature style having been affected by the Ionian potters (see, however, Boehlau, p. 140). No. 9 contrasted with No. 1 shows most clearly the difference between the b.f. Attic and Ionian styles.

Pl. VIII., Nos. 10-13 are from the interior of r.f. kylikes. A great many similar fragments were found about the shrine of Aphrodite at the north end of the site.

Pl. VIII., No. 10. Head of *ephebos* with mantle thrown over his shoulder.

Pl. VIII., No. 13. Monster with legs ending in serpents. It is interesting to find this subject on a r.f. kylix, but unfortunately there is not enough of it left to show whether the figure is the winged "Typhoeus" of archaic art or an approach to the Hellenistic type of giant (see Roscher, i. pp. 1670 ff.). The thighs, however, are more human than in the b.f. type.

Pl. VIII., No. 11. Outside, a border pattern consisting of sets of three maeanders separated by squares with cross in centre and dots at corners. Inside HO . . (ὁ παῖς καλός).

Pl. VIII., No. 12. Bracelet painted red. The figure, which is clad in a short *chiton*, is apparently stooping to put on a greave (cf. *inter alia* Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, Pl. LVIII.). The other greave is already fastened on and the end of it appears above the left knee. The spiral bracelet and the rounded limbs give a feminine air to the figure, which may be intended for an Amazon.

Fig. 2. From the inside of a r.f. kylix. Consists of two pieces, one of which was found at Naukratis in 1886 (*B. M. Cat.* iii. E 812), and the other in 1899.<sup>1</sup> There is a rivet-hole in each piece, showing that the vase had been mended in antiquity. The subject of the design is a Seilenos seizing a Maenad. The Maenad is moving towards the right and brandishing a snake and a bough, the leaves of which are painted red. She is clad in an embroidered chiton, the upper part of which is represented without folds. The Seilenos, whose head is shown full face, has seized her by the waist. The hair above his forehead is rendered by dots of black glaze *in relief*; the outline of his back-hair is incised. The wrinkles on his forehead are represented by lightly scored lines (not shown in Mr. Anderson's drawing).

<sup>1</sup> Several fragments from this year's excavation were recognised by Mr. C. Smith as belonging to the same vases as other fragments already in the Br. Mus. Among them was another piece of the vase representing Odysseus and the Sirens (*B. M. Cat.* ii. B 103<sub>19</sub>).

The history of the type is fully discussed in Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, pp. 75 ff. Our fragment, which is very carefully finished, differs considerably from any of the other examples.

Fig. 3. From the outside of a small r.f. kylix. Part of a scene in school. The figure to the left with the himation over his knees is holding up a manuscript roll. Opposite him is part of another figure, probably a boy seated on a stool with an open triptychon placed on his knee, in which he is writing with a pen. Apparently he is engaged in copying the contents of the roll to dictation. Above are visible the ends of various articles hanging on the wall. There is no scene quite similar to this on the Berlin kylix by Douris (*Arch. Zeit.*, 1873, Pl. 1), although the master who is giving the reading lesson there corresponds to the person on the left

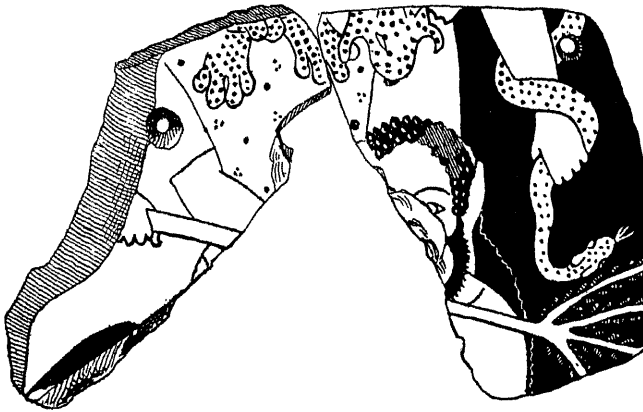


FIG. 2 (full size).

in Fig. 3. As regards style, our fragment also may very well have been painted by Douris.

The words on the roll are ΣΤΕΣΙ+ΟΡΟΝ ΗΥΜΝΟΝ ΑΛΟΙΣΑΙ, *i.e.* *στησίχορον* (perhaps a natural slip on the part of the Attic draughtsman for the conventional *στασίχορον*) *ὑμνον ἀγοῖσαι*. They are no doubt intended for the beginning of an ode, and may be supposed to be addressed either to the Muses or to a chorus of women. The lines are written *boustrophedon* and in the Attic alphabet. The presence of an ω in the hexameter on the Douris kylix has been taken by Kretschmer (*Vaseninschr.* p. 106) as a proof that the regular literary alphabet in Athens at the beginning of the fifth century was the Ionian; but it is surely most unlikely that at this period there was any such standing distinction

between the alphabet employed by Attic scribes and the alphabet of everyday use. At any rate, the distinction is quite ignored on Fig. 3.

It is not necessary to suppose that *στησίχορον ὕμνον* is the opening of an actual hymn; it may be merely a stock phrase in melic poetry (cf. Pind. *Pyth.* i. 6 ἀγησιχόρων . . προοιμίων). Though *στησίχορος* does not occur in any extant Greek hymn, it is a familiar word in this province, being the name of the famous poet of Himera. According to Suidas, it was not his real name, but a nickname or epithet, and certainly it seems suspiciously appropriate as the personal name of a choric poet.

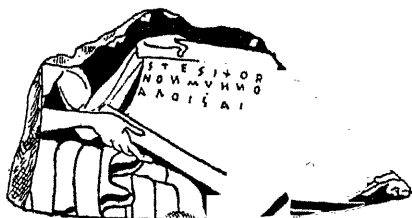


FIG. 3 (full size).

Pl. VIII., No. 14. From a Panathenaic vase.

R.f. pottery of the later style, though not represented in the illustrations, was plentiful and some of it of fine quality. The most interesting piece was a large cylindrical vase-stand surrounded by a representation of a libation scene. A late class of ware that was particularly common was that of black-glazed bowls with palmettes and other patterns stamped on the inside (see *Berl. Cat.*, pp. 785 ff.). Strange to say, the only kind of pottery that is known to have been regarded as a feature of the Naukratite factories, the silver-surfaced ware described by Athenaeus (XI. 480 E), has never been found at Naukratis; or it may be that the preparation has not been proof against the action of the soil.

### C.

#### A RELIEF (Pl. IX.).

By C. C. EDGAR.

The sandstone relief reproduced on Pl. IX. represents a helmeted warrior marching to the right with spear in his right hand and shield on his left

arm. It is the *inside* of the shield that is turned towards the spectator. A procession of similar figures is a very common subject in early Greek art, from the Mycenae age onwards; *Nauk.* ii. Pl. V. 6 is a fragment of just such a scene. The tread of the warrior on our relief recalls, and is in fact the prototype of, that mincing step which is one of the mannerisms of the archaistic style (cf. Hauser, *Neu.-att. Rel.* p. 165; Émanuel, *La Danse Gr.* pp. 48 ff.).

The technique of the work is peculiar. The figure stands out from the background on one raised plane. There is no attempt at modelling except that the legs are slightly rounded at the side. I know of only one parallel to the absolute flatness of the work, and that is the *stèle* of Alkias in the Museum at Athens (*Ath. Mitth.* xi. Pl. 5). The surface both of the background and of the figure is carefully finished and smoothed. As on scores of other reliefs there are deep traces of the incising of the figure in outline before the background was cut away.

It may be suggested that the work is in an unfinished state like one of the slabs of the Nereid Monument in the British Museum. I do not think so. In the first place the provenance of the relief is against that idea (see below). In the next place the arms, the eye, the helmet, everything that we should have expected to find modelled or incised, may quite well have been expressed by painted lines, the work being in short not so much a piece of sculpture as a piece of painting.

It was discovered inside a large earthenware basin embedded in the ground at the edge of a well-made pavement of sandstone slabs (see p. 33). From the dedicated pottery scattered about we were able to conclude that the pavement was part of a shrine of Aphrodite situated in the Hellenion Precinct. The basin was *in situ* and was evidently an appurtenance of the temple. The relief therefore must be either a dedicated *stèle* or much more probably a fragment from the ornamentation of the temple itself. Its shape tells us nothing certain. There are traces of a projecting ledge along the top, above the head of the warrior, and of another projecting ledge at the base. The stone is broken away in both places, it is broken away at the back, and it has also suffered at each side. I think the most likely supposition is that it formed part of a frieze representing a procession of marching warriors.

The earliest dedication from this shrine of Aphrodite is No. 46; almost all the others are on r. f. Attic pottery (*e.g.* Nos. 86-93). Indeed no early

pottery was found in the immediate neighbourhood and the deposit of terracottas at the other end of the shrine included nothing of a very archaic type (see pp. 69 ff.). We cannot therefore place the shrine much before 500 B.C. The relief itself is too devoid of character to be dated closely, but there is nothing in its appearance that is not consistent with the period proposed.

*D.*

THE TERRACOTTAS.

BY CLEMENT GUTCH.

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The terracottas, which were recovered during the spring of 1899 from the site of Naukratis, are both more numerous and more important than those obtained during the two previous campaigns. They number nearly four hundred, the specimens ranging in date from the sixth century B.C. to the second century of our era. A number of these are of types akin to those already known at Naukratis, and are present in such quantity as to make it possible to trace the probable development of their various peculiarities. Besides these, and thirty or forty small female heads of "Tanagra" type and other figures of comparatively late date, we have the remains of nearly a score of female heads of unusual size and beauty, which are to be ascribed chiefly to the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.

At Naukratis, a city of ancient foundation, which had a continuous existence as a Greek colony from the middle of the sixth century B.C. down to the second or third century A.D., and which was moreover, for the greater part of that time, a prosperous trading centre in constant communication with Greece and the Greek cities of Asia Minor, we should expect not only to find a more or less complete series of terracottas of all dates during that period, but also that these terracottas should give evidence both of the foreign trade of the place, and of the influence of the art and religion of their Egyptian neighbours on the work and worship of the Greeks themselves.

As a matter of fact, so far as the terracottas are concerned, internal evidence of an import trade of any consequence is disappointingly slight. It is possible to point only to a score or so of specimens in the whole collection as being of exoteric manufacture. This number is

surprisingly small when we consider that Naukratis stood to the Greek world in a relation not unlike that of Carthage to the Phoenicians. The possible objection, that terracotta figurines were merchandise of too brittle a nature to admit of transportation or, at any rate, to tempt it, falls to the ground in view of the large transpontine trade in pottery between the centres of production in Greece and this very place, not to mention more distant ports in Sicily and Etruria.

We are compelled then to account for the absence of the productions of foreign koroplasts, if it is to be explained at all, in some other manner. A more plausible explanation is suggested both by the comparatively early date of the imported terracottas, and by the analogy of the vase-trade of Etruria and southern Italy.

The two centuries, to which the imported terracottas, for the most part, belong, cover a time to which very few of the terracottas of Naukratite production can be allotted. On the other hand the succeeding period, to which not one of the exoteric specimens can be with certainty attributed, is rich in those of home manufacture. It seems then not unlikely that, as in Etruria, the products of foreign skill provoked imitation by native artists (cf. nos. 2 and 10 with no. 4), and that the decline of trade, consequent on the fall of Athens and the troublous times which followed, caused, if it did not necessitate, a proportionate activity on the part of native craftsmen, who learnt to produce work which supplied the place of the foreign products which it imitated.

Another probable factor in the growth of the native terracotta industry, if not in the disappearance of the imported article, was the increasing influence of the worship of Harpocrates and Khonsu-pe-khred. It is impossible to say if the cults of these two closely allied deities superseded the familiar cults of Hellenic religious belief. Such a complete subversion of the orthodox Greek divinities seems on the face of it improbable; but, if we can trust the evidence of the terracottas, their worship was thrown considerably into the background during the second century B.C., if not earlier. At any rate the newly borrowed worship seems to have enjoyed great popularity, and, inasmuch as it necessitated a type of terracotta hitherto unknown in the Hellenic world, the manufacture of that type in Greece or Asia Minor would be less convenient and less practicable than, in the presence of numerous Egyptian models, it would be at Naukratis itself.

The influence of Egyptian art and Egyptian religion is apparent in but few of the terracottas, other than those of the types to which allusion has just been made. Some specimens, however, have survived which are apparently to be connected with Isis, Bes, and possibly Sebek (*see* below). These all belong to a late date.<sup>1</sup>

Before embarking on a particular description of the terracottas, it will be convenient to discuss certain other points which a general examination of them suggests.

First as to their nature and object. The terracottas are, by the circumstances of their discovery, separable into four groups distinct in time.

1. We have in the first place two good female heads, which were unearthed together with some early sherds about eighteen inches above the basal mud (near 5 and 6 in the accompanying plan), in the neighbourhood of, and at the same level as, some brickwork, which, according to Mr. Petrie's canon,<sup>2</sup> belongs to the early years of the sixth century B.C.

2. Secondly, we have a number of heads, figures, etc., chiefly female, derived from the stratum immediately above that attributed to the sixth century, and found for the most part in buildings whose walls and pavements overlies the sixth century remains at a level about two feet or less above the mud (at 5, 6, 9, 11, 12, 14, 14A, *see* plan). These specimens and the fragments of pottery found with them belong apparently to the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.

3. The third group consists entirely of female heads of types allied to those rendered familiar by the tasteful figurines unearthed at Skimitari<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There is ample evidence of a considerable appropriation of Egyptian religious ideas by the Greeks in the last centuries of the Pagan era. It would seem that there was no corresponding inclination on the part of the Egyptians to be influenced by the religion of the Greeks. "Only very isolated indications of Greek ideas can be found, such, *e.g.*, as the substitution of the name 'Hades' for Dûat (the underworld) in the texts" (Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, pp. 170, 171). The fact that in districts where there was a strong Greek element, there was an apparent modification of Egyptian religious ideas, is to be attributed rather to an appropriation of Egyptian gods, and their identification with Hellenic divinities by the Greeks, than with Milne (*A History of Egypt, V, Under Roman Rule*, p. 128, etc.) to any corresponding movement on the part of Egyptian religious thought. "At the very time when the Hellenes were displaying the greatest zeal in appropriating the strange gods, simply accepting some of them, and proclaiming others as counterparts of their own deities, the Egyptian religion had renounced its former liberality and ceased to adopt foreign deities" (Wiedemann, p. 171). Mr. Percy Gardner (*New Chapters in Greek History*, p. 193), in denying that the Greeks borrowed religious cults from Egypt, cannot, I think, intend his remarks to apply to this late chapter of Hellenic history.

<sup>2</sup> *Nauk.* i. 89.

<sup>3</sup> See British Museum, etc., and *Terres Cuites de Tanagra coll. Camille Lecuyer*.

(Tanagra) and in Asia Minor.<sup>1</sup> These were recovered mostly by *sebakhin* to the east of the excavations (38) above and near a concrete flooring, which, on account of its high level and an inscription found just above it, has been ascribed to the Ptolemaic period.

4. Lastly, we reach the terracottas of the Graeco-Roman period, which form the major part of the collection. These were for the most part bought from Arab diggers, who recovered them in large quantities from the surface soil of the eastern portion of the site. Others were obtained from the rubbish heaps left by *sebakh*-diggers when removing soil from the area afterwards excavated. Similar terracottas were got from the southern portion of the Greek quarter during the excavations of Messrs. Petrie and Gardner. It appears, then, that they were distributed over the entire Greek site.

This division into four groups is one suggested by the record kept of the depth at which the various specimens were unearthed, and of the exact locality in which they were found. It must not be supposed, however, that each of these groups contains specimens only of some one particular type or attributable to some one particular object. When we come to a consideration of types a different division is necessary, and it will be found that in some cases the types of one period survive during the subsequent ones, though for the most part the temporal divisions hold good for the types as well. A consideration of the circumstances supplies us with some reason for this. We do not know for certain what event led to the overthrow of the buildings of the sixth century; probably it was the Persian invasion of Cambyses in 526 B.C.; but whatever was the cause, the effect does not seem to have been long-lived, and similar buildings appear to have been erected over the pre-existing ones after a comparatively short interval of time. It is not surprising, then, to find that the terracottas which belong to the sixth century, and those which are to be attributed to the succeeding period, present us with a similar type.

The "Tanagra" heads form a distinct group by themselves, and were found in a comparatively narrow district, which has not yet been thoroughly excavated, and so has yielded no earlier remains. As will appear later, they are probably to be connected with the worship of a particular deity, who, for some reason unknown to us, was honoured at Naukratis at a time when other divinities would appear to have lost their former popularity.

<sup>1</sup> See British Museum, etc., and Froehner, *Terres Cuites d'Asie*.

The terracottas of Roman date were found above a thick layer of unproductive sand, which Mr. Hogarth pronounces (*supra*, p. 37) to be the result of artificial labour, and not of drift during a long period of desolation; they consist almost entirely of heads and figures which betray the influence of Egyptian religious ideas.

There can be little doubt that the heads, figures, etc., comprised in the first three groups, if not those of the last group as well, are offerings at the shrines of various gods. The arguments which support this view are the following:—

1. They were found in or near buildings in the great enclosure which the evidence of inscriptions, etc., shows to be, in all probability, the Hellenion.
2. They were found in distinct "pockets" (cf. *supra*, p. 38).
3. Some terracottas of the second group were found in the neighbourhood of what appeared to be an altar, whilst others of that and the succeeding group were accompanied by numerous sherds bearing dedicatory inscriptions.
4. The analogy of the finds of terracottas of a sacred character on the Acropolis at Athens, and at Gela, Selinus, and elsewhere.
5. The actual types discovered (*see* below).

With regard to the fourth group no such arguments are available. It consists of heads, figures, etc., obtained from all parts of the site, and especially from the eastern portion, which was possibly beyond the limits of the great enclosure. Further, no dedicatory inscriptions accompanied the figures. At the same time some few of the specimens appear to reproduce the types of the earlier offerings, others represent the sacred or sacrificial animals of Egyptian religion, whilst the vast majority appears to be connected with the worship of Horos or Harpokrates (Har-pe-khred, Horos the child). In view, however, of their wide distribution, it would be rash to associate them with any particular shrine or shrines erected to do public honour to that god. It appears more probable that they have been derived from the dwelling houses of the later inhabitants of Naukratis, and that they are to be regarded as figures set up in each house to protect the inmates and ensure their prosperity,<sup>1</sup> or at most as offerings before private shrines in the houses themselves.

<sup>1</sup> The phallic nature of many of the specimens lends some support, I think, to this view.

Having thus arrived at the probable nature of the terracottas, it will be convenient to classify the various types presented, noting their distribution through the four groups distinguished above.

#### I.—FEMALE HEADS AND FIGURES.

##### *a. "Aphrodite" heads, etc.*

These belong almost entirely to groups one and two, and are ascribed to Aphrodite mainly in consequence of the dedicatory inscriptions found near some of them. They were found at the points marked 9, 11, 12, 14, 14a, 35 on the plan.

##### *b. Child-birth dedications, and the like.*

Belonging to the second and fourth groups. These were no doubt dedicated to Aphrodite; the earlier specimens were found with the big Aphrodite heads.

##### *c. Cybele heads, etc.*

These belong to the second group, and are associated with Cybele in consequence of their peculiar type (*see below*). Found at 5.

##### *d. Heads of Demeter and Persephone.*

Forming the third group. So named because of an inscription *Διονυσία Δημητρί* found in their midst (38).

##### *e. An Athene figure.*

? Fourth group. Usual Athene type.

##### *f. Isis figures.*

Fourth group. From large well, pp. 34, 35.

##### *g. Baubo figures.*

Fourth group.

#### II.—MALE HEADS AND FIGURES.

##### *a. Apollo figures.*

One found above the second group (14a).

##### *b. Harpokrates figures, etc.*

Fourth group.

##### *c. Bes figures.*

Fourth group.

##### *d. Asklepios head.*

Fourth group.

#### III.—MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS.

##### *a. Gorgon heads.*

? From the cemetery. Fourth group.

##### *b. Masks, etc.*

Fourth group.

#### IV.—ANIMALS.

Fourth group.

The question of the original provenance of the terracottas may be briefly dismissed. In the present state of our knowledge certainty in this

matter is impossible. This much, however, may be stated with considerable probability.

1. The figures and heads of coarse brown, yellow-brown, and coarse red terracotta are of native manufacture.

2. Those of a hard and light-coloured terracotta are from Cyprus. No. 290 is probably of Cypriote provenance, and Nos. 8 and 9 are perhaps to be traced to a similar origin.

3. Those of a hard and pure red terracotta are usually of Rhodian manufacture. *E.g.* Nos. 2, 10, 11, 18, etc.

4. Those of a soapy red-brown clay come from Asia Minor.<sup>1</sup> *E.g.* No. 35, etc.

In the following pages, where the nature of the terracotta is not specially mentioned, the specimen is of the common brown Naukratite variety.

Thirdly, the question naturally arises: To what extent have moulds been employed in the production of the terracottas? On this point the evidence at our disposal is twofold, that derived from our knowledge of the practice of koroplasts elsewhere, and that obtainable from an examination of the Naukratite finds. The evidence derived from other sources shows that except in very early times the use of moulds was almost invariable in the manufacture of all but the roughest and rudest figures. Often several moulds were employed in the production of a single figure; indeed, the koroplast seems to have had a small stock of moulds, by ingenious combinations of which he was able to turn out a great variety of statuettes. Another method, which preceded the use of moulds, was to employ a stamp, which was pressed on to a solid lump of clay. The disadvantage of this method was the tendency of the solid lump of clay to warp in the firing. It seems, nevertheless, to have survived to a late date. To pass to Naukratis: two moulds from the site are now in the British Museum;<sup>2</sup> moreover the terracottas themselves show considerable evidence of the use of moulds. Apart from a general lack of sharpness in the features, which in the best work are emphasized by retouching, we have the fact that among the earlier specimens which appear to be made of Naukratite clay

<sup>1</sup> Cf. certain terracottas found at Halicarnassus and now in the British Museum; C.507a, C.508, C.508b; also some from the neighbourhood of Cyrene.

<sup>2</sup> E 181, E 182.

Nos. 6 and 7, and Nos. 12 and 13, agree so exactly both in appearance and measurements as to warrant the assumption that they are the products of the same moulds. In the case of Nos. 12 and 13 the high head-dress has been made separately (a practice which would seem to have been usual, cf. Nos. 5, 16, 17, etc.) and probably by hand, and this fact accounts for its variation in the two instances.

In later times the use of moulds seems to have been very general. There are one or two instances of mask-heads, *i.e.*, heads of which the face alone is represented (so made, perhaps, in imitation of the custom of earlier times), which a certain lack of sharpness in the modelling of the features marks out as mould-made work. However, most of the specimens before us have been made in two halves. The face or whole front of a figure has been mould-made, whilst the back has been roughly shaped by hand and then joined to the other half. This practice accounts for the variation between Nos. 236-239, which so far as the face is concerned are similar. Nos. 127 and 128, parts of twin Isis-figures, also illustrate this point. In one or two instances both back and front appear to be mould-made (*e.g.* Nos. 149, 197). A good example of this is a figure of a horse found at Naukratis, and now in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge. In this case the two halves have come apart. The suture between the two parts is generally very noticeable, and no great pains have been taken to conceal it (*see* especially Nos. 146, 152, 220-223). Curiously enough, carelessness in this respect may be actually responsible for a slight modification observable in some heads of the Harpokrates type, namely, the addition of a hood. It would be rash to assert positively that this is the case, but a careful comparison of a number of the heads has inclined me to this view (*see* below). Many specimens both of later and earlier date bear traces of the fingers which have pressed the mould-made parts into the hollows of the matrix.

In the case of the "Tanagra" heads the faces appear to be mould-made, whilst the detail of the hair can only have been rendered by the use of a tool.<sup>1</sup>

The general employment of moulds by the koroplasts of Naukratis is,

<sup>1</sup> Froehner, *Terres Cuites d'Asie*, considers the long necks of some heads similar to these (Vol. ii. Pl. 97, cf. Nos. 83, 88, etc.) to be phallic. Their *raison d'être* seems rather to have been convenience in fastening the head, which was made separately, between the back and front halves of the figure.

then, suggested by the practice of other centres of production and by the evidence of the terracottas themselves. Some few, however, appear to be stamp-made, *e.g.* Nos. 143, 269; and others, where elaborate under-cutting rendered the use of moulds difficult, seem to have been made by hand, *e.g.* No. 266.<sup>1</sup>

With regard to the heads, which appear to be of foreign manufacture, it is often impossible to speak with certainty. We have, however, a fragment which corresponds closely with No. 11, and probably belonged to a head made in the same mould. Also in No. 1, the earliest of the heads, an irregular suture is apparent on the forehead, nose, lips, and chin; and this points, I think, to the making of the head in a double mould, divided, contrary to the custom which obtained in later times, down the middle of the face.

Lastly, as to the use of colour. The employment of paint on the terracottas is not by any means invariable. In the case of the earlier specimens and the "Tanagra" heads it is general, but the heads and figures of later date as a rule show no trace of it.<sup>2</sup> The usual practice seems to have been to cover the entire head or figure with white. On this foundation the dress was painted with vermilion or blue,<sup>3</sup> whilst the eyes were picked out with brown or red, the eyebrows with brown, the lips and nostrils with red, and the hair with red or yellow. The head-dress was generally blue. The flesh was, as a rule, left white, but in three cases at least it was coloured pink. In respect then of the use of colour by Greek artists the excavations at Naukratis have little new information to give. The archaic statues in the Acropolis Museum at Athens illustrate every point except the use of pink as the flesh colour in Nos. 163, 251, 291.

The Aphrodite heads admit of a convenient division into two groups, namely those which are merely masks, *i.e.* in which the back of the head is not modelled, and those which are completed behind either with or without an attempt at fidelity to nature. Of the former kind twenty are in a sufficient state of preservation to merit detailed description. In addition

<sup>1</sup> The circular or rectangular holes in the backs of some of the specimens were to assist evaporation during the firing process. Possibly they were also used for purposes of suspension.

<sup>2</sup> Nos. 162, 163, 206, 209, 232, 251 are exceptional in this respect. Many of the specimens show signs of what at first appears to be white paint, but is really a hard calcareous deposit due to the nature of the soil in which they were buried.

<sup>3</sup> Lucian (*Lexiphanes*, 22) alludes to the use of these colours by *koroplastas*.

to these small portions of six other heads of like nature have survived. These heads were apparently intended for suspension on the walls of the shrine, as in twelve cases, where the top of the head or head-dress remains, it is pierced by one or more holes. In one head alone which is complete at the top is there no such hole. They are further distinguished from the second group, except in three instances, by their greater size: one of the heads is rather more, and one rather less than half life-size, whilst these same three exceptions alone are less than one quarter life-size.

*No. 1* (*see* Plate X.), which I take to be the oldest of the heads, is made of a hard and pure clay, light red in colour. The body, if it ever existed, is now entirely broken away. The top of the head is covered by a veil; before this the hair is roughly indicated by projections between nine small furrows, and in two tresses hanging down below the ears. Across the forehead runs a narrow ornamented band, possibly a string of beads. The eyes are long and slanting, and the face is too much to the side, this defect being especially marked in the case of the right eye; the nose is fat and prominent; the lips are somewhat thick, and at the ends run back into the cheeks so as to form two hollows and produce the placid smile familiarised by the archaic statues in the Acropolis Museum at Athens. The chin is narrow and rounded; the ears are scarcely shown, and are placed too high. What looks like a suture is traceable on the forehead, nose, lips and chin. If it is one, we have here a very early instance of the use of a mould, and one of an unusual kind with a join down the centre. The face has been painted a creamy colour, whilst the veil, the band across the forehead, the pupils of the eyes, and the hair have been treated with red.

First half of sixth century.

*No. 2* (*see* Plate X.) is a head about one-third life-size. The average thickness of the terracotta, which is pale red in colour, lies between  $\frac{1}{8}$  and  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an inch. This head, of which little more than the left half remains, marks a great step forward from the point of view of natural and artistic development. The outline of the face is round and full, and contrasts with the triangular contour of the last mentioned head; but, though the eyes, which have lost their prominence, are placed at a more natural angle, and their shape, a long pointed oval, is more in accordance with reality, there remain very distinct traces of archaism in their great length and comparative narrowness, as well as in the deep hollows at the corners of the mouth, the smile, the dimpled chin, and the "bead" treatment of the hair. This last runs all along the top of the forehead, and curving downwards over the temple passes in front of the ear. In the white paint with which the entire head is covered, the curious head-dress, and the position and shape of the ear there is a close similarity with the later and more perfect head, *No. 10* (q.v.), which enables us to arrive at a conjectural completion of the present specimen.

We should probably be right in regarding this head as a work of the latter half of the sixth century B.C.

*No. 3.* The four fragments which go to make up this head have left us sufficient indication of its artistic quality to justify its ascription to the second half of the sixth century. The hair over the forehead is wavy, the eyes of archaic shape and the lips straight. There are a few traces of white paint upon the face and of red upon the hair. The terracotta is apparently Naukratite.

*No. 4.* a head of slightly smaller dimensions than *No. 2*, is composed of a coarse brown clay of considerable weight and thickness. The shape of the face is more oval than that of *No. 2*, and is not so broad across the eyes. The eyes themselves are shorter, and the cheeks less prominent immediately below them, while the eyebrow is now simulated by two slightly incised lines. The top of the head is covered by a cloak or veil, which apparently conceals a stephane, which rises up stiffly above a fringe of roughly indicated ringlets over the forehead. The edges of this veil are visible down the front of the body, which is of a purely conventional type, paralleled by many

terracottas of Rhodian provenance in the British Museum (cf. No. 10). The nose and lips have suffered considerable damage; but the absence of the deep hollows at each end of the tiny mouth, which was apparently no broader than the base of the nose, at once removes the grotesqueness of the primitive smile, and helps to supply an air of calm and dignified serenity to the features of the goddess. The ears are scarcely visible.

Date, circa 500 B.C.

*No. 5* (see Plate XI.). Here we come to the largest head of the series. Like the preceding one it is made of a thick and coarse clay, but it has been more perfectly baked, with the result that the surface is harder and redder in appearance. The surface of the face and hair has been covered with a thick coating of friable white paint, on which details have been emphasized by the use of other colours. Thus traces of vermilion are visible at the corners of the eyes, and on the edge of the head-band, the lips, and the ear-ornaments; the pupils of the eyes, the edges of the lids, and possibly the eyebrows were marked by the use of a brownish colour. There are no signs of any colour on the ground white which apparently covered the hair, but the artist probably employed red for this portion of his work, in accordance with a general tradition adhered to in the case of most of the archaic statues on the Acropolis at Athens and of more than one head of the present series.

The most striking difference between this head and the last are in the treatment of the hair, the prominence of the brows and the shape of the face. The face is broader in comparison with its length, and the chin less pointed; the brows project in a sharp and well-defined ridge, and the inner corners of the eyes, which curve more suddenly towards the nose, are sunk more deeply into the face, with the result that the head has more character about it than could be claimed for No. 4. The upper lip, which is very short, projects slightly beyond the lower one. The nose is straight from the bridge, where the prominence of the brows makes a slight break in the profile. The inclination of the forehead is not quite so marked as that of the nose. The chief divergence, however, from the type of No. 4 is in the modelling of the hair. It is covered above the centre of the forehead by a narrow band, probably representing a metal cincture, and, appearing from beneath this, is drawn back above the temples so as to conceal the band by a thick wavy mass, which also hides the top part of the ears; these last are still further obscured by two large circular ornaments. There remain signs of the former existence of a stephane or tiara, a form of ornament which occurs on other heads in the collection. For these two last features we can again compare the archaic statues at Athens. The conventional form of body noticed in the last instance seems to have been discarded in this case.

First half of the fifth century B.C.

*Nos. 6 and 7.* We have here two heads from the same mould. They are made of a thick brownish clay, resembling that of No. 59, etc. The faces have been painted white, and there are traces of vermilion on the lips and nostrils of No. 6. The hair, which is parted in the centre, falls in wavelets over the temples and is covered by a close-fitting head-dress or veil. The face is oval in shape, narrowing considerably towards the chin. There are slight hollows at the corners of the mouth. The shape of the eyes is not clear, but they seem to be rather longer than those of the last head.

First half of the fifth century B.C.

*No. 8* (see Plate X.) is a small head of a smooth light brown terracotta, which is without a close parallel in the present collection. No. 9 most nearly resembles it in consistency and colour. The clay is smooth almost to soapiness, but is quite hard, and for the most part only one-sixteenth to one-eighth of an inch in thickness. The artist apparently depended on his brush for detail—there are traces of white paint upon the face and of yellow on the hair—and his treatment of the eyes is therefore difficult to determine; they seem, however, to have been unnaturally long. The mouth is free from the archaic smile, but it is not guilty of any great beauty or realism. The cheeks are rounded, and the ears, as usual, invisible. The hair is represented by a series of loop-like locks projecting over the forehead, and the head is completed above by a high head-dress of unusual type.

It is difficult to allot this head to any narrow period of time, but it cannot, I think, be later than the first half of the fifth century B.C.

No. 9 (*see* Plate X.), another small head of somewhat similar clay to the last one, is covered by a veil or other head-dress with a flat top of some stiff material. The hair, which is visible over the centre of the forehead and in a thick mass over the remaining temple, is only roughly worked. The eyes, so far as it is possible to judge, were of a later type than those of No. 8, and the treatment of the mouth appears to warrant its attribution to a somewhat later date, say, the middle of the fifth century B.C.

No. 10 (*see* Plate X.), which is of somewhat similar clay to No. 2, and is a later figure of the same type, is, with No. 4, of great importance for the restoration of the other heads, inasmuch as sufficient has been pieced together to show the whole original extent of the terracotta. We have here not only a head, but also a body of purely conventional form, the sides of which are formed by a continuation of the veil or head-dress (*cf.* No. 4.) There has been no attempt to indicate the shoulders, arms, or breasts. In front the body presents a flat surface relieved only by two slightly raised bands of dark colour<sup>1</sup> which seem to mark the border of the veil. Its total length from the chin downwards is about equal to that of the head. The head-dress rises up stiffly from the forehead, and appears to consist of a stephane covered by the veil; the ears, from which hang large circular ornaments, are modelled on its surface.

There are, I think, sufficient indications to warrant the restoration of Nos. 2 and 11 by the addition of bodies of a similar kind. With regard to the completion of the other heads, it would be rash to make any positive statement; nevertheless, it seems not unlikely that, when perfect, they possessed bodies either resembling that of No. 10 or else aiming at a somewhat closer imitation of nature, after the manner of No. 59 (q.v.). Certain Rhodian terracottas in the British Museum, to which allusion has already been made with reference to No. 4, in type very closely resemble the one under discussion. The clay of which they are composed, though, I believe, similar, is of much greater thickness.<sup>2</sup>

In respect of the treatment of the hair and facial features the figure before us is in distinct advance of No. 2, to which it is otherwise similar. As in that head and No. 5 the profile of forehead and nose presents a line which is but slightly curved; but the chin is no longer dimpled, and while the hollows at the corners of the mouth still exist in some degree, the lips have lost their archaic smile and are modelled with some skill. The eyes are better proportioned than was the case in the earlier example. The hair runs in a number of wavelets along the top of the forehead. I am inclined to regard this head as a work of the first half of the fifth century B.C. If we compare it with No. 5, it appears in some respects, notably in the treatment of the nose and mouth, to be distinctly in advance of that head, while on the other hand, in other features, for example the modelling of the eyes and hair, it is as far behind it. It is, then, probably a product of approximately the same time, but due to a different school of art.

No. 11 is a head of similar terracotta to the last. The principal difference lies in the head-dress, which no longer rises up in a stiff ridge along the forehead, but fits close down to the head. The hair is shown parted in the centre. The hollows at the ends of the mouth have disappeared.

Middle of the fifth century B.C.

Fragments of two similar heads have survived. One of them was perhaps from the same mould.

Nos. 12 and 13 (*see* Plate X.), two heads from the same mould, are formed of a heavy and coarse clay, which has been burnt in one case to a dull brown-red and in the other to a brick-red, and subsequently painted. The high head-dresses were added after the heads had been removed from the mould, and, in consequence, differ slightly the one from the other. The usual head-dress noticed in Nos. 2 and 10 exists below and in front of these huge frills which are probably an artistic development of the stephane made with the object of providing a background for the head. The treatment of the hair is rather bolder than was the case in Nos. 6, 7 and 11, where it is arranged in an almost similar manner. Here it is not pressed so closely to the forehead, and tresses hang down at each side of the neck so as to conceal the ears.

<sup>1</sup> The figure generally is painted white.

<sup>2</sup> A very early figure of this type is shown in Salzmann, *Nécropole de Camiros*, Pl. XII.

The general shape of the face approximates most closely to that of Nos. 6 and 7 : it is slightly more rounded. An improvement is to be noticed in the modelling of the eyes and mouth. The former, owing to the curvature of the upper lids, which rises more suddenly at the inner than at the outer end, appear to incline downwards rather than upwards at the corner further from the nose, and the appearance produced is more natural than that under the older method. A similar result is obtained in the case of the mouth by the absence of deep hollows at the corners and by the bow-like outline of the upper lip, a modification at which the artists of Nos. 10 and 11 had arrived, though with less happy effect. The date of the present heads cannot be much later than that ascribed to the two preceding ones.

*Nos. 14—17.* It would be idle to attempt any separation of these four heads in point of date. The treatment of the facial features is almost identical in each case. The eyes, whilst no longer symmetrically sided and of unnatural length, do not attain to the perfection of shape found in the head which we shall next discuss, and this is also lacking in the case of the mouth, which has, nevertheless, lost all trace of archaism. The increased boldness of the curve between lower lip and chin—especially marked in No. 14—is also to be noticed. These features point to the latter half of the fifth century as the date of the heads.

The clay of No. 14 is friable and light red in colour ; that of Nos. 15 and 17 is, I think, of the same origin as that of Nos. 6 and 7 ; whilst that of No. 16 resembles most closely that of No. 9. The modelling of the hair and the form of head-dress differ in the three cases, Nos. 15—17, where they have not been entirely broken away. In two instances, Nos. 15 and 16, there are traces of red paint upon the hair, and in Nos. 14 and 15 on the lips.

*No. 15.* The hair is arranged as in No. 11, etc., whilst the head-dress probably resembled that of Nos. 2 and 10. It would be rash, however, to assert that this similarity to the older heads proves No. 15 to be of earlier date than the three heads with which it is classed.

*No. 16* (*see Plate X.*), which was, and indeed is, a head of considerable beauty, is unfortunately much damaged. The stephane, which decorated the top of the head, has disappeared, with the exception of a small portion at the right-hand end, which is ornamented with a rosette or stud about  $\frac{3}{4}$ " in diameter. In front of this the hair was just visible at either side, whilst from temple to temple it was apparently hidden by a continuation of the head-dress ornamented with three small rosettes and, above the centre of the forehead, with a bow in addition.

*No. 17* (*see Plate X.*). The coiffure is even more elaborate. The hair, except that part of it which is immediately over the forehead, is entirely concealed by a veil of crinkled material drawn under a huge tiara or stephane, and fastened above the centre of the forehead by being knotted into a large bow. A crimped edge finishes it off prettily in front, and from beneath this a certain amount of hair is allowed to escape. The general effect even now is one of great beauty, and it is a matter of great regret that, though no fewer than twelve fragments of this head have been pieced together, a large and important portion of it is irrecoverably lost.

*No. 18* (*see Plate XI.*), which appears to be the latest but two of this group of heads, is the gem of the collection. It is the best preserved of all the heads both as to form and colour. The terracotta is the same as that of No. 10, etc., but is of much greater thickness, and it is to this, probably, that it owes its preservation in its present condition. The head is topped by a stephane painted a light blue and originally ornamented with five or more rosettes. Over the top of the forehead its surface is flat, but at the end it is wavy. Below this is a thick roll of hair, which comes low over the temples and conceals the ears. This style of dressing the hair recalls the coiffure of one of the archaic female figures in the Acropolis Museum at Athens (No. 683), and gives what might to-day be termed a French air to the head. In the present case the modelling shows considerable freedom : the surface of the clay has been pitted with a stick or pointed tool in such a manner as to produce a very effective imitation of frizzed hair, and has been painted a rich red. The face is round and the features are excellently rendered : the brows are sharply cut and prominent ; the eyes well shaped and skilfully shaded by means of the emphasis given to the upper lid :—a device to give the effect of eyelashes, necessitated by the impossibility of actually representing them :—the nose is almost straight and continues the frontal line without a break ; the mouth is delicately shaped in the bow-like curve noticed in one or two of the earlier heads. The expression is almost disdainful,

an effect produced by the prominence given to the lower lip by the deep hollow or dimple beneath it. The chin is pleasantly rounded and not unduly emphasized.

The face is entirely covered with a white pigment. The lips receive an additional coat of red paint, and the iris of the eyes was painted some dark colour, either red<sup>1</sup> or brown, but the remaining traces of these pigments are very slight. It is worthy of remark that, as is the case with most heads both real and sculptured, the two sides of the face are not exactly similar: a slight difference is noticeable not only between the two eyes but also between the two sides of the nose and mouth.

This head cannot, I think, date from before the end of the fifth century B.C., and is probably considerably later.

No. 19 is a head of almost masculine appearance. The hair, which fell down on to the shoulders in two tresses, only remains in a fragmentary condition. It betrays considerable skill in its treatment, and a greater freedom than is exhibited in the case of any of the other heads. The treatment of the eyes does not call for special comment or aid us particularly in fixing the date of the head, but the exaggerated curves of the mouth and the modelling of the hair point to a period as late as the middle of the fourth century B.C. The neck, which was ornamented with a necklace, is of unnatural size. The face generally was painted white, the necklacc, lips and hair red, and the iris and lids of the eyes brown. The clay is light red in colour, and hard.

No. 20. We have here a head of a light yellow or yellow red clay, formerly covered with white paint. The high head-dress is of the stephane type and is covered with raised ornamentation. The mouth is of a late shape, and the eyes are badly modelled. Careless work of the last half of the fourth century or even later.

With regard to the second group of "Aphrodite" heads, it is unfortunately impossible to say with any certainty of correctness what of the remaining female heads are to be included in it. In addition to the shrine of Aphrodite, which would seem to have been of considerable importance, there apparently existed a shrine of Rhea Cybele in its immediate neighbourhood (*see* plan 7), and a shrine of Demeter at some little distance to the east (38 on the plan). Neither of these shrines, if we can trust the evidence of the terracottas which can certainly be connected with them, can boast the antiquity or the popularity of the temple of the love-goddess; and, in the presence of some undoubted Aphrodite-terracottas of late date, there is no reason for supposing that her worship ceased to attract votaries during the last 300 years before Christ. Except then in the case of the earlier figures and of those where an attribute or a significant portion of the body has survived, it is not possible to distinguish clearly between the representations of Aphrodite, Cybele, Demeter and Persephone.

The heads and figures which can be confidently associated with Aphrodite are the following:—

No. 21 (*see* Plate X.), a head of extremely crude work of the first half of the sixth century: the brows and eyes are prominent, as also are the lips, which smile inanely beneath a nose of huge

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Acropolis Museum, Athens, No. 679, etc.

proportions. The hair or wreath upon the forehead is formed by a series of perpendicular ridges in the clay. This may be an exceedingly early specimen of the childbirth figures, see below, p. 82. Found between 1 and 35 (see plan) 18 in. above the basal mud.

No. 22, a head<sup>1</sup> of early date (550-500 B.C.), wearing a veil-covered stephane and smiling in archaic fashion. Found with the big heads.

No. 23, a head of rather later date, similarly dressed except that the veil comes down over the forehead. C. 500 B.C.

These two heads seem to have formed the tops of vases, unless the latter is to be restored after the manner of the Acropolis terracottas, representing Athene helmeted.

No. 24, fragment<sup>2</sup> showing a right hand holding a dove before the right breast. Two tresses of hair hang down over the shoulder and breast. Many terracottas of this type are to be seen in the Museum at Syracuse and elsewhere. C. 500 B.C.

No. 25 (see Plate X.), head with high stephane. The hair is parted in the centre and curves down over the temples concealing the ears, which are ornamented with pendants. The eyes are almond-shaped, the mouth almost straight. 500-450 B.C. From 9 (see plan) 2 ft. above the mud.

Nos. 26<sup>3</sup>-31 (see Plate XII.), six heads dating between 500 and 450 B.C. The earliest one has a stephane and veil, another a stephane alone.

No. 32, a large head, much perished, wearing a high stephane and circular ear ornaments. Date c. 450 B.C. Found with Nos. 25 and 33.

No. 33, ditto, much defaced, without ear ornaments; stephane broken away. Date as No. 32.

No. 34, head covered by veil, round face, circular ear ornaments. C. 400 B.C.

No. 35, fragment of naked female figure.<sup>4</sup>

No. 36, part of torso of semi-nude female figure.<sup>5</sup>

No. 37, upper half of semi-nude female figure.<sup>6</sup> A himation, which is wrapped round the waist, passes up over the head and down again on to the left shoulder. The right hand is raised and holds the himation away from the face. The head is inclined gracefully to the right. There are traces of red paint upon the lips; the figure generally is painted white. The back of the figure was not completed excepting behind the head. From Well 35 (see plan). Date 400-350 B.C.

No. 38, upper half of a somewhat similar figure.<sup>7</sup> In this instance the right hand apparently rested on the hip, whilst the left arm was raised from the shoulder, possibly in order to rest on the shoulder or neck of a second figure (? Eros) now missing.<sup>8</sup> From Well 35 (see plan). Date c. 350 B.C.

Nos. 39 and 40,<sup>9</sup> two female heads, dating about 400-350 B.C.

No. 41, head of Aphrodite with star-fish body. A small projection at the back of the figure is pierced for suspension.

No. 42, head wearing stephane and veil according to the old type. In spite of this peculiarity and the smile, I am drawn to consider this head as the work of an archaizing rather than of an archaic artist. The shape of the eyes and the treatment of the neck mark it as a work of late date,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Naukratis i. Pl. XV. 8. Our specimen is of friable light red clay.

<sup>2</sup> Clay, a light yellow.

<sup>3</sup> The terracotta of No. 26 is a very light red, that of No. 27 yellow-brown, that of No. 29 pale red, and that of No. 31 also pale red. In the last instance it is very friable. With No. 27 cf. Heuzey, *Figurines Antiques du Louvre*, Pl. 14 (Rhodes).

<sup>4</sup> Terracotta, pale red, soapy.

<sup>5</sup> Terracotta, pale red.

<sup>6</sup> Terracotta, as Nos. 10 or 35; cf. Pottier and Reinach, *Myrina*, pl. 5, and British Museum, C 157 (Cyprus).

<sup>7</sup> Terracotta, as Nos. 10 or 35; cf. Pottier and Reinach, *Myrina*, pl. 5, and British Museum, C 157 (Cyprus).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. No. 47, and British Museum, C 596.

<sup>9</sup> A very similar head is *Collection J. Greau*, No. 550 (Cyprus).

and a careful comparison shows the smile to lack the curve usual in the works which it imitates. 250-200 B.C.

Nos. 43, 44 and 45, fragments of three naked female figures apparently of similar type. The hair falls in huge tresses on each side of the head, and is surmounted by an unwieldy erection, which, from the bands which cross it, and a comparison with many of the Harpocrates figures (*see* below) would seem to be a wreath. Found not far from the surface near 26, 11 (*see* plan). Date, after 200 B.C.

No. 46, a headless naked female figure with right arm raised, possibly in order to hold the himation, which is visible over the left shoulder, away from the face. The hair falls in tresses on each side of the head after the manner common in the early years of the fifth century B.C. C. 100 B.C.

No. 47, fragment of a group representing Aphrodite and Eros.<sup>1</sup> Date, ? second or first century B.C.

No. 48 *a, b, c, d, e* (*see* Plate XIII.) consists of ten fragments, which go to make up the base of a female figure. Of this the unsandalled feet and a small bit of drapery survive. The base was apparently intended to represent a wave of the sea, in which two or more dolphins disported themselves. It is much to be regretted that no more of this interesting figure has been recovered. Sufficient, however, remains to make it seem probable that we have here the relics of a terracotta statuette of the sea-born goddess treading the waves of her native element. White and blue paint; terracotta as No. 10 etc. Found with the big heads.

We now come to a group of eight naked female figures (Nos. 49-56), which are probably to be regarded as offerings of women before or after childbirth.<sup>2</sup> In the opinion of Mr. Petrie they are to be considered as recumbent figures, and, if No. 50 is rightly included in this class, his judgment receives some support from the presence of what may be two bolsters behind the head. The rounding of the back of No. 49, and the presence of a support for the feet in No. 56, incline me to the belief that the recumbent position was not invariable. In every case the arms are laid along the sides of the body. The technique of the figures is exceedingly poor; and this fact, coupled with the knowledge that, with one exception, they were unearthed at no great depth, points to a late period as the date of their manufacture.

No. 49, the exception alluded to, is apparently an earlier production, though probably belonging to the same class of figure. It was found at a considerable distance below the surface, and, further, the crudeness of the workmanship is of a kind more consonant with the ineffectual aspirations of the early artist than with the hopeless incapability of an unskilled craftsman of the first century before or after Christ. The features of the face are scarcely indicated. The nose and mouth are very small, the ears roughly modelled, whilst the eyes are marked by two very slight protuberances. Two double bands pass above the temples and cross over the forehead, forming part of a head-dress. The neck is of the same breadth as the head, and only slightly narrower than the trunk. The arms were added in separate pieces of clay, and were very rudely shaped; the breasts are vaguely indicated. The clay is hard and smooth, and in colour pale red.

No. 56A is a seated figure, probably of like intent.

Nos. 57 and 58<sup>3</sup> possibly served the same purpose as the figures last mentioned. In the present specimens a circular object, perhaps a flat cake, is held by both hands in front of the left breast and shoulder. The hair or head-dress is wig-like in appearance. The figures are naked, as before. Possibly it would be more correct to refer them to the class of terracotta to which we now come.

No. 59, which has been pieced together from nine fragments found with the large heads, and must therefore be assigned to a comparatively early date, represents the shoulders and the upper part of the body of a woman. The head is unfortunately missing. The hands are held to the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. British Museum, C 596. Terracotta, coarse red.

<sup>2</sup> See *Naukratis*, i. p. 40, and plate XIX. 7, 8 and 9 (limestone figures); British Museum, C 585; Hilton Price Collection 2055-7.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Monumenti Inediti*, xi. 52, Nos. 33 and 34.

breasts, which are apparently naked, though there are indications of a garment falling over each shoulder. Below, the remains of an outside edge remove all doubt as to the further extent of the figure in a downward direction. The figure is very badly proportioned, the size of the arms being too small for the great breadth of the body. The treatment of the hands, too, is primitive and inadequate. I am inclined to regard this figure as an early Naukratite imitation of Cypriote work. The British Museum possesses several Cypriote terracottas of similar type, but of great artistic superiority.<sup>1</sup>

*No.* 60 is a figure with both hands raised to the left breast. It is naked, and of late date and crude workmanship.

*Nos.* 61, 62 and 63<sup>2</sup> are portions of figures which have the left hand alone raised to the left breast. Of these *No.* 61 is shown by the treatment of the hair, which is like that of the archaic statues in the Acropolis Museum at Athens, to be of early date. It was partially clothed, and but for the nudity of the breast and upper portion of the body, might be further compared with the statues above mentioned, which hold some attribute in a hand bent across the body. As it is it seems safer to include it in the group under consideration.

In *No.* 64, a nude figure, the left hand clasps the right breast, whilst in *No.* 65, which is partially clothed, the right hand is raised to the right breast.

*Nos.* 66 and 67 (*No.* 67, *see* Plate XII.), which are proved by the circumstances of their discovery to be of early date (? fifth century), seem when complete to have been nothing more than a right and left arm respectively and the nearer of the breasts, which was clasped by the hand. Clothing is indicated in each case.

*Nos.* 68, 69 and 70 were probably of like nature and date.

These figures and part-figures, which the inscriptions found with some of them, apart from the nature of the specimens themselves, incline one to denominate as dedications to Aphrodite, were, there is very little doubt, votive offerings made by mothers to ensure the continuance of their nutritive powers. Four objects of a like nature are figured, two for the first time, in Professor Ridgeway's new book on the Early Age of Greece. They consist of "a necklace of gold and Cornelian beads, with pendants which consist alternately of glass paste and gold plate in the form of a hand grasping a woman's breast, from which hangs a small acorn formed of an olive-green stone in a gold cup," from Aegina; a gold relief from Rhodes representing a woman with her hands held to her breasts; and two other similar gold reliefs of unknown provenance.<sup>3</sup> They were no doubt intended for personal wear as milk-charms.

*No.* 71, a fragment of a group, should perhaps be added to this class. The fragment consists of the breasts, right shoulder, and part of the left arm of a female figure, and the right arm from above the elbow downwards of a second figure, the hand of which is grasping the left breast of the extant one. This arm seems to belong to a figure considerably taller than the remaining one, and is possibly part of a representation of a goddess (? Aphrodite). The group may however have pictured the rape of Oreithuia or some similar subject.

Of the six terracottas (*Nos.* 72-77) which appear to portray the Mother of the Gods, one alone, *No.* 74, is identified with her by the existence of a not uncommon attribute, the lion. The features are usually too indistinct to merit description. Found at 5 (*see* plan) 10 inches above the mud.

*No.* 72.<sup>4</sup> Head of figure of fairly early date (c. 500 B.C.), with abnormally high head-dress. It is covered with white paint, and much defaced. Terracotta, brick red, friable.

*No.* 73 (*see* Plate XII.). Upper part of clothed female figure, probably seated. The hair, which is surmounted by a high head-dress, is parted in the centre, and falls on to the shoulders, passing behind two large ear-drops. The breasts are not greatly developed. The dress apparently

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.* A 9, 14, 15, 16. Cf. also A1 (Sardinia); Cesnola, *Cyprus*, Pl. 6; Salzmann, *Caniros*, Pl. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. British Museum, A 19 (Cyprus).

<sup>3</sup> All these are now in the British Museum. My thanks are due to Professor Ridgeway for allowing me to make use of his proof-sheets.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. British Museum, B 58.

consisted of a chiton and himation; the latter is just visible on the left shoulder. The hair was painted red, the face white, and the dress and head-gear blue. 450-400 B.C.

*No. 74* (see Plate XII.). Ditto. The hair is tied in the fashion of the early years of the fifth century, though the figure is probably of later date (c. 400 B.C.) The high head-dress is ornamented with palmettes in relief. Dress as *No. 73*: the chiton is sleeved. The arms are bent at the elbows and carry a small lion,<sup>1</sup> the mane of which is clearly indicated. The mouth wears a pleasant smile. Red paint on hair; white on face and dress. Terracotta; light red.

*No. 75*. Upper part of clothed female figure. The head-dress resembles that of *No. 74*, and is ornamented with palmettes and circles, which project from a red background. The hair, which has been painted red, forms a thick roll along the forehead (cf. *No. 18*), and a tress falls on to each shoulder. The neck is too long. Dress: chiton and himation; the latter passes under the right and over the left breast. Large ear-ornaments. White paint. Terracotta; pale yellow, somewhat soapy to the touch. 300-250 B.C.

*No. 76*. Head. The head-dress is ornamented with ? olive leaves. The hair (red) retains the old arrangement. White paint. Terracotta; as last, but rather darker. C. 250 B.C.

*No. 77*. Head. The head-dress is high and passes all round the head (cf. *Naukratis*, i. Pl. XV. 5). The hair is very roughly worked in perpendicular tresses. Possibly an Isis head. After 200 B.C.

The dedications to Demeter and Persephone may be briefly dismissed. They consist of a number of heads of late date and of two upright figures of little merit, *Nos. 78* and *79* (*No. 78*, see Plate XII.). Of these last the former is grasping a torch<sup>2</sup> of large size with her right hand, and is clothed in a chiton and himation. The head is missing. The body generally is covered with a thick white deposit, and the torch is painted an orange yellow. The second figure is missing from the centre upwards. The hands, which are very badly modelled, are against the sides.

Of the heads, one alone, *No. 80* (see Plate XII.), appears to be earlier than 200 B.C. The rest were probably the work of the second century. The majority bear traces of red about the hair, and one, *No. 84*, has its eyes emphasized with black. (*Nos. 80-91*).<sup>3</sup> (*Nos. 82, 85*, see Plate XII.)

The remaining heads and figures of this class are not easy to apportion. They consist of two pitcher-bearers (*Nos. 92* and *93*), possibly dedicated to Demeter,<sup>4</sup> and thirty heads (*Nos. 94-123*), mostly wearing wreaths. Of these *Nos. 94-97* are probably Demeter heads, and the remainder probably belong to Persephone or Aphrodite. The four heads, *Nos. 98-101* (*No. 98*, see Plate XII.), recall by the manner in which their hair is arranged certain heads of Hygieia in the National Museum at Athens.<sup>5</sup> However, it seems more probable that this style of coiffure was peculiar to a particular period (c. 200 B.C.), rather than to this particular divinity. *No. 102* is, I think, of Cypriot clay, and a work of early date.

*No. 124* is a torso of Athene wearing a snakeless aegis and gorgoneion over a *χιτὸν σχιστός*, with *long ἀπόρρυγμα* held by a cord round the waist. This style of dress is common on the white Athenian lecuthi, but is rare on vases of greater antiquity.

*No. 125*. Female figure, seated. The head, feet, right arm and left arm from below the elbow are missing. The figure is seated in a crouching posture, with the knees drawn up almost to the chest. Tresses hang down on the shoulders. The dress bears a rough resemblance to that of the archaic female statues in the Acropolis Museum at Athens. A basket hangs from the left arm.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Reinach, *Répertoire de la Statuaire Grecque et Romaine*, ii. p. 269, Torlonia (503), p. 270, statuette in Louvre and figure in Munich Antiquarium (307).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Pausanias, 8, 25, 7; 8, 37, 3; 10, 35, 10; and Reinach, *Répertoire de la Statuaire Grecque et Romaine*, p. 243 (British Museum).

<sup>3</sup> *No. 81* is not, I think, of Naukratite clay. It resembles most closely *No. 74* in this respect, but is darker in colour. The terracotta of *No. 89* is a pale yellow. With *No. 88* cf. British Museum, C 765 (Bengazi); and with *No. 86* *Collection J. Greau*, 341 (Tanagra).

<sup>4</sup> A similar figure is in the British Museum, Egyptian Room, Case M, labelled "Female figure, perhaps a Danaïd, carrying jar"; cf. also British Museum, C 601.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Froehner, *Terres Cuites d'Asie*, ii. Pl. 42.

*No.* 126. Lower half of standing female figure, found near 31 (*see map*).

*Nos.* 127 and 128<sup>1</sup> (*No.* 127, *see plate XII.*): (from well, *see pp.* 34, 35) parts of two similar female figures representing ? Isis dancing. The head-dress is peaked, and what seems to be a veil overhangs it so as to cover the forehead, whilst a second or part of the same veil conceals the lower part of the face,<sup>2</sup> so that the eyes and upper half of the nose are the only parts of the face exposed. The body is clothed in a chiton almost completely concealed by a himation. The right arm is bent at the elbow and the right hand is beneath the right breast. The modelling of this arm is poor in the extreme, and it appears too short for the height of the figure. The left arm is missing from the elbow. The legs are crossed at the knee. The dress seems to have been painted a bluish white; the shoes, red.

*Nos.* 129 and 130. Parts of Baubo figures.<sup>3</sup>

*No.* 131. Part of a winged figure, ? Eros, about to throw an apple or ball.<sup>4</sup>

*No.* 132. Part of a figure, with the left hand raised to the head.

*No.* 133. Fragment of relief, showing a girl in a short-sleeved garment holding crotali in her right hand. Date, possibly fourth century or even earlier.<sup>5</sup>

The largest and, in some respects, the most interesting group of terracottas is one which belongs to the last centuries of Naukratite history (150 B.C.—250 A.D.).<sup>6</sup> During the whole of this period the prosperity of Naukratis would seem to have been on the decline. The absorption of its trade by Alexandria, and the attraction exerted by the same centre on the devotees of literature and art, were factors which conduced in no small degree to the thinning of its population; but the Bucolic<sup>7</sup> War and the revolt of Cassius and its suppression resulted more speedily, if not more certainly, in the desolation of the older Greek emporium. Indeed during the last hundred years of its existence Naukratis appears to have been little more than a mere collection of huts.<sup>8</sup> It is probable then that but few of the terracottas which compose the present group are to be dated later than 150 A.D. The earlier date (150 B.C.) has been arrived at chiefly by a consideration of the depth at which these specimens were unearthed. They were derived in almost every case from the first few feet of surface soil,<sup>9</sup> in a stratum above that which yielded the heads of "Tanagra" type.

<sup>1</sup> For the attitude of the legs, and the dress, cf. British Museum, C 202.

<sup>2</sup> The figurines from Thebes, etc., in which the himation is drawn across the lower part of the face, are not similar.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Naukratis* i. p. 45, and a stone figure pictured on plate XIX. of the same work, also a terracotta in the Edwards' collection at University College, London, and British Museum, C 590.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. a terracotta in the Edwards' collection.

<sup>5</sup> Terracotta; very pale red.

<sup>6</sup> Mr. F. Ll. Griffith has very kindly read the proof-sheets of the remainder of this article, and my thanks are due to him for some corrections in the spelling of Egyptian god-names, for a suggestion which I have embodied in note 1 on p. 89, and for one or two emendations.

<sup>7</sup> *Nauk.* i. p. 9. <sup>8</sup> *Id.*

<sup>9</sup> In places where the ground had been disturbed they were occasionally found at a lower level.

The general style of the terracottas does not warrant their ascription to an earlier date, and it would be rash, I think, to confine the period of their production within narrower limits.

With regard to their relative positions within this period, it is not possible to arrive at any certain arrangement by a consideration of their artistic merits. The most that can be done is to attempt a classification on the lines suggested by the apparent development of the various types.

As has been already stated (p. 71), most of the heads and figures which go to compose this group are male,<sup>1</sup> and appear to be connected with the worship of Horos.

From Plutarch<sup>2</sup> as well as from other sources, it is apparent that at least two deities of the name Horos were recognised by the Egyptians. Of these one Har-uer ("Horos the elder"), called by the Greeks Ἀρούρης, was the son of Nût and Râ, the sun god (or, according to a second account, of Isis and Osiris, who had been lovers before their birth); and the other, Har-pe-khred (Horos the child), the Greek Ἀρποκράτης, was the son of Isis and Osiris after the death of the latter. These two deities were originally entirely distinct.<sup>3</sup> The one was Horos the sun god, the other Horos the son of Isis.<sup>4</sup> "The blending of the two divinities was a subsequent development."

<sup>5</sup> "Generally speaking, the sun god may be distinguished from his namesake by the possession of certain cognomens varying with the nomes or cities in which he was worshipped. In course of time each of the different forms became an independent divinity, and we frequently find several such worshipped contemporaneously as distinct deities in the later periods of Egyptian history."

The latter part of this statement, though made by so high an authority as Wiedemann, is, I think, open to dispute, as also is the assertion of Tiele,<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Huish is wrong in alluding to these figures as female (*Greek Terracotta Statuettes*, p. 180).

<sup>2</sup> *De Iside et Osiride*.

<sup>3</sup> Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 27.

<sup>4</sup> Wiedemann, pp. 223, 4. "Horos, the son of Isis, appears in the Osirian legend, first as the child Her-pe-khred . . . , Harpocrates, with his finger in his mouth, secondly as the avenger of his father (Osiris); and finally as his father's successor on the throne of Egypt. His original nature can no longer be determined; even in prehistoric times he had already been blended with Horos the sun god, from whom there is no distinguishing him in the texts."

<sup>5</sup> Wiedemann, p. 27.

<sup>6</sup> Tiele's *History of the Egyptian Religion*, Ballingal, p. 52.

that the name Horos "was not so much that of a definite deity, as the common title given to a particular class of gods." The latter adduces in support of this theory facts on which, apparently, Wiedemann also founded his statement, viz., that the name of Horos is rarely used without attribute or epithet; that nearly every locality has its particular Horos, designated by a special surname; that one frequently sees several different Horos deities side by side on the monuments; that some divine beings, like the star Sirius (Harsapd), have the title Horos bestowed upon them when they are masculine; and finally that in later times, at least, the name of Horos in the plural is always used as synonymous with the *neteru*, the gods.<sup>1</sup> But, in my opinion, both he and Wiedemann lay too great stress on the existence of surnames or descriptive epithets which are usually associated with the name of Horos ('the Lord'). Surely it would be as justifiable to distinguish between the persons of Notre Dame de Bon Secours,<sup>2</sup> Notre Dame de la Haine,<sup>3</sup> and Notre Dame de Bonne Nouvelle,<sup>4</sup> as to claim a different identity for Har-bhedti at Edfu and Harsamtau at Dendera, for Har-em-akhet (*i.e.* Horos on the sun-hill) and Har-nûb (*i.e.* the Golden Horos)? The difference in name seems to denote no more than the different point of view from which the deity was regarded: as god of the light he was equally the god of the morning sun, the Golden Horos, and the Horos of the Two Horizons. It would be no more incongruous in the eyes of an Egyptian to represent the same god under his different aspects upon the same monument, than to a Roman Catholic to address the Virgin in his litanies as the Sun, Moon, Star, Lily, Rose, Ever-full Well, Sealed Fountain, etc. The Christ of County Dublin, whom forty men could scarcely hold at His scourging, is the same Saviour who "was led as a lamb to the slaughter."

We need not then in the "Horos" figures before us attribute each different type to a different god. At Naukratis, if not elsewhere, there seems to have been an amalgamation of the powers and attributes assigned to Horos in the aspects in which he was worshipped in various localities. To anticipate a little, he is apparently regarded as the son of Isis, the sun god, the god of the moon and the god of fertility. Further his type is commingled with that of Khonsupekhhred, who was primarily a lunar deity.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mr. F. Ll. Griffith informs me that this statement is incorrect.

<sup>2</sup> At Rouen,

<sup>3</sup> See Souvestre, *Les Derniers Bretons*, p. 92.

<sup>4</sup> At Paris,

<sup>5</sup> See Budge, *The Mummy*, pp. 271, 2.

In only a few cases is it possible to distinguish definitely between the two deities, and it seems probable that even in those cases the distinction is unwise. It is doubtful if, at the date to which these terracottas are to be assigned, the Egyptians themselves discriminated clearly between them, for at this time,<sup>1</sup> and at an earlier date too, a pantheistic tendency had made its mark upon the religions of Egypt; and it is not likely that the Greeks of Naukratis would be careful to maintain any unimportant differentiation which may have existed in the allied worships which they borrowed. It was a time indeed of the assimilation of types and deities, when Greek, Roman and Egyptian gods became merged one in another, if any slight similarity appeared to warrant or support the identification;<sup>2</sup> and Horos did not escape the process. According to Plutarch,<sup>3</sup> Ἀρούρης was called the elder Horos (Har-uer) by the Egyptians, and Apollo by the Greeks, but Horos seems also to have been associated with the vivifying and fertilizing powers of nature,<sup>4</sup> usurping to some extent the rôle of Dionysus, who was identified with Osiris.<sup>5</sup> Moreover the evidence of the terracottas points to the importation into his worship of some of the less desirable features of the religions of Asia Minor, unless the origin of the phallic types is to be looked for in the cult of Har-min or in the phallic side of Osiris worship.<sup>6</sup> If we add that Harpokrates was in later times regarded as the ward of Bes,<sup>7</sup> and that Horos, the sun god, was entirely confused with that deity, we have, I think, completed the list of identifications, etc., which have a bearing on the terracottas. The types which we have to discuss are not, apparently, peculiar to Naukratis. Similar terracottas are to be found in the British Museum and elsewhere, which are labelled as having come from the Fayûm.

A careful examination and comparison of the terracottas reveal a gradual and continuous development of the type of Harpokrates as known from Egyptian monuments and fayence sepulchral figures. In these he is represented as a child, often in the lap of his mother Isis, and still more

<sup>1</sup> See Wiedemann, pp. 4, 109, 136, 260, 301-6.

<sup>2</sup> Though the syncretic tendency was strong in Egypt, the Egyptians, on their part, seem to have exhibited no inclination to identify the Greek and Roman gods with their own. Wiedemann, p. 170.

<sup>3</sup> *De Iside et Osiride*, 355 EF, 356 A, 375 F.

<sup>4</sup> *ib.* 366 A. Maspero, *The Dawn of Civilization*, p. 158.

<sup>5</sup> *ib.* 356 B, 365 D.

<sup>6</sup> See Plut. *De Iside et Osiride*, 358 B, 371 F; Diod. i. 22, 6, 4. 6. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Wiedemann, p. 164.

frequently in conjunction with figures of Isis and Nephthys (Nebthas). He is bald save for a large lock,<sup>1</sup> which springs from the head above the right ear and falls down on to the right shoulder, and is usually, if not invariably naked. He is generally shown with the forefinger of his right hand upon his lips<sup>2</sup> and with the *pschent*, the combined crowns of upper and lower Egypt, upon his head.

The present collection of Naukratite terracottas exhibits no instance of the juxtaposition of Harpokrates and another deity, though possibly No. 155 formed part of a group of this kind. In the Fayûm two or three such groups have come to light, for example, one now in the Petrie collection representing Horos carrying Harpokrates; and Naukratis itself has yielded at least one Isis and the infant Horos.<sup>3</sup> However, in some cases he is given the general form and peculiarities which he possesses in the Egyptian figurines. Thus in No. 134 his face is that of a smiling child with the forefinger of the right hand upon his lip. A large lock of hair springing from above the right ear descends on to the shoulder. Apart from this he is bald. The double crown rises high above his head.

All variants from this, the stereotyped Egyptian form, need not necessarily be assigned to a later date; but it would not, I think, be too much to suppose that the majority of them are due to the development of the Greek conception of the deity, to an intentional omission of the essentially Egyptian attribute, the double crown, or to a purely artistic differentiation, so that their attribution to a later date, if not necessary, is at least probable.

One is struck at once by the great number of the variations. In the case of the Acropolis terracottas at Athens, and of those from Megara Hyblaea, Camarina and Echetla (?) in the museum at Syracuse, no such wide diversity of type is observable. In each of these cases we have a series of figures collected from a particular site, and connected with the worship of a particular deity; but in spite of Greek versatility any variation of the stereotyped forms is exceedingly rare: so rare indeed that, to take

<sup>1</sup> This lock is alluded to by Wiedemann, *op. cit.* p. 167, as the "side-lock of youth." This was its original significance, but the Greeks apparently lost sight of the idea unless we should regard Nos. 235-239, etc., in which the lock is attached to a head of elderly character, as amalgamations of incongruous types.

<sup>2</sup> The Greeks, in consequence, came to regard him as the god of taciturnity. The hand pointing to his mouth was, however, with the Egyptians, the sign that he was yet an infant and could not speak. Tiele, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> British Museum, C 580.

the case of the Acropolis terracottas, one is inclined to give the name of some other divinity to the seated female figures found among the standing figurines of the helmeted Athene. In them almost the only differentiation consists in the absence or presence of the aegis.

The Naukratite craftsmen on the other hand do not seem to have felt themselves bound in any way to one particular type, and, though this fact appears curious when one considers that the Harpokrates type was already fixed at the date at which the Greeks of Naukratis admitted him to their Pantheon, an explanation may perhaps be found in the very fact that he was to them a foreign and new divinity, for whose peculiar attributes they would not have the conservative respect felt by his older worshippers.

To enter into details : one of the simplest variants of the usual Egyptian type is that presented by *Nos.* 135-140 (*Nos.* 134, 6, *see* Plate XII.). In these instances we have before us a smiling child-face, round and chubby. The nose is undeveloped, and in the case of *Nos.* 135 and 137 the cheeks are dimpled at the corners of the mouth in a fashion that is almost archaic. In all six cases the head is apparently bald, and (if we include No. 138, which is broken at the right side) has a lock descending in orthodox style from above the right ear. The absence of the combined crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt is paralleled in many Egyptian representations of the god. The chief remaining feature which is common to most of these specimens is a line or furrow running along the top of the forehead from ear to ear. (It is absent in No. 135.) This possibly had its origin in the suture which is observable between the front and back halves of many of the heads,<sup>1</sup> and does not, I think, mark the commencement of the hair, which, as has been already stated, is apparently unindicated. In these instances, as in the next three (*Nos.* 141-143), the absence of the finger on the lips is also to be remarked. No. 141<sup>2</sup> is a crudely modelled head of very similar type; the only difference is the addition of a knob of hair above the centre of the forehead.

In *No.* 142 (*see* Plate XII.), from which the lock has probably been broken away, we have another slight differentiation, the face being rather older than those hitherto described (*cf.* *Nos.* 218, 219, etc.).

*No.* 143 (*see* Plate XII.) is interesting as being one of the few Harpokrates figures which approach completeness. Only the front of the figure is modelled, and that in an exceedingly crude and unskilful manner. The artist has naïvely represented the head and trunk full-face, whilst the right leg, the only one visible, is shown in profile. He has portrayed the god in a sitting position, naked, with his right hand resting on his thigh and possibly holding some attribute, whilst the head is supported by the left hand, and the left elbow rests upon a pillar (? phallic). The head resembles those described above. The absence of the finger from the lip and of the pschent, and the possibly phallic nature of the object at the left side, coupled with the fact that the figure was not found at any great depth, incline me to regard it as the work of an incompetent artist of late date, rather than as the unskilful production of an early hand.

*No.* 144, from which the double crown is now missing, represents the god as wearing the thick wreath<sup>3</sup> which occurs in *Nos.* 164, 165, 184-7, and frequently on the Khonsu-epkhred heads (*see* below). Hair is indicated all round the forehead, but the lock is clearly differentiated. The forefinger of the right hand is raised to the lip. For the projection on the right shoulder *see* note on No. 209, below. *No.* 145 was perhaps similar.

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.* *Nos.* 146, 152, 210, 220-3, 230, 234, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Brick-red terracotta.

<sup>3</sup> Possibly this is the "Naukratite crown" of myrtle discussed in *Athenaeus*, xv. 675 F seqq. For similar wreaths *see* *Odessa Museum*, vol. i. Pl. 2 (Olbia), Pottier and Reinach, *Myrina*, Pl. 40,

Nos. 146, 147 differ from the commonest Egyptian type, in that the child is no longer bald, and that the lock falling on to the right shoulder is only represented, if at all, by a slight thickening of the hair. The identity of the figures is established by the presence of the double crown and the finger on the lips. In the case of No. 146 the suture of the mould-made face to the hand-made back produces the appearance of the edge of a hood encircling the head and passing over the double crown.

In No. 148 (*see* Plate XII.) the lock is more clearly indicated, and the pschent is only absent through fracture. It is difficult to decide whether the artist intended to model a wreath of flowers or curly hair above the forehead and at the left side of the head.

In No. 149<sup>1</sup> (*see* Plate XII.) we have a bold divergence from the original type. There is no finger on the lip, and no double crown upon the head; the hair is indicated over the whole of the head, passing back from the forehead in a thick double plait. The artist has even duplicated the distinguishing lock, but that on the right side of the head is rather more prominent than that on the left. The remainder of the figure, which is now missing, may have given other clues to the identity of the personage portrayed. As it is, we can only be guided by the enlargement of the lock on the right of the head and by the general similarity of the features to those of undoubted heads of Harpokrates found in the same neighbourhood.

No. 150, which is much rubbed, likewise carries no distinctive marks.

No. 151 is a small figure of a naked child, with the right arm (missing) raised. The left arm encircles what is probably a jar (*see* Nos. 202, 203, 211, 209, etc., below). The left leg is bent and supports the left hand. A breakage at the top of the head has possibly robbed the figure of both pschent and lock. The head is bald.

No. 152 is remarkable in that the artist, whilst retaining the double crown and the finger on the lip, has represented the hair as falling in two equal tresses on to the shoulders and has surmounted the forehead with a thick wreath of ivy-leaves and flowers, below which a narrow band passes from temple to temple. In this way the existence of hair on the top of the head is concealed. The ivy wreath<sup>2</sup> is perhaps accounted for by a passage of Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*, 365 E), *ἐπὶ τε τὸν κιττὸν, ὃν Ἕλληνες τε καθιεροῦσι τῷ Διονύσῳ καὶ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις λέγεται Χενόσιρις ὀνομάζεσθαι, σημαίνοντος τοῦ ὀνόματος, ὥς φασί, φυτὸν Ὀσίριδος*. In the same section he tells us that Dionysus was looked upon as a son of Zeus and Isis, thus becoming a parallel deity to Harpokrates. The suture between back and front, as in the case of No. 146 above, makes it appear that the back of the head is covered by a hood.

No. 153, from which the pschent is broken away, should probably be referred to this type. It retains some traces of paint: pink upon the face and wreath, red on the lips, and black on the eyebrows and eyelids.

Nos. 154-184<sup>3</sup> are all, probably, the result of the development of the Harpokrates type. None of them, however, in their present condition, possess the features distinctive of that type as noticed above, though nearly all bear a marked resemblance to other heads in the collection, the attribution of which to Harpokrates is less uncertain. No. 155 is a plain child-figure with the right hand raised to the chest and the left to (?) a second figure, possibly of Isis, now broken away. Of the heads, Nos. 160-163 (Nos. 162-4, *see* Plate XII.), the three last of which exhibit unusually good workmanship, are noticeable for the presence of a head-dress, which probably existed also in No. 159. No. 163 is elaborately painted: the face is a deep pink, the lips vermilion, and the head-dress blue, whilst the eyeballs are painted white, and the pupils of the eyes brown. For the wreath of flowers, etc., cf. Nos. 152, 153, 166. Nos. 164, 165 show a thick wreath, in the former case curiously compressed by a transverse band. Nos. 165-168 (Nos. 166, 7, *see* Plate XII.), have a somewhat feminine type of face, which, in the case of No. 168, is emphasized by the addition of ear-ornaments. No. 170 possibly represents the child-god as playing some stringed instrument. No. 172 (*see* Plate XII.), is part of a reclining figure (cf. Nos. 174, 191, 201, 202, 209, etc.), possibly

<sup>1</sup> Terracotta; red. For the arrangement of the hair cf. *Collection J. Greau*, 1149 (Myrina).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Furtwaengler, *Sabouroff Collection*, Pl. 122 (? Dionysos).

<sup>3</sup> The terracotta of No. 171 is smooth and pale yellow in colour.

winged,<sup>1</sup> which wears a stiff head-dress of the stephane type. The body is in part covered by a garment. No. 173 is from the same mould. No. 174 (*see* Plate XII.), also part of a recumbent child-figure, is bald and partially clothed. The child's face is somewhat grotesque in appearance, probably intentionally so, and he is playing on a double flute. Nos. 175-183 (Nos. 175, 177, 181, *see* Plate XIII.) are child-heads (No. 181 is a grotesque) wearing hoods. I am inclined to trace the origin of this hood to the hood-like appearance already noticed in Nos. 146 and 162, which is produced by the suture of the mould-made face to the hand-made back of the head. (Compare also Nos. 191, 195, 223, 230 below.) No. 176 (*see* Plate XIII.) is a head of unusual size, which was found in well B. No. 184 (*see* Plate XII.) is a child-head wearing a thick wreath, and a garment covering the top of the head. This passes down behind the right ear to the front of the body. There is no indication of hair or lock, but it is to be noticed that the right ear alone is provided with an ornament. Slight traces of paint are observable on Nos. 155, 156, 160-2, 164, 168.

Nos. 185,<sup>2</sup> 186, which are apparently Harpokrates figures, represent the god with the *left* hand raised to the lips. In both cases he is wearing a large wreath, which, at any rate in No. 185, was surmounted by the *pschent*. The projections on the shoulders are also to be noticed (*see* note on No. 209, below). In No. 185 he is clothed in a short-sleeved garment, and seated with his right leg bent in front of him. The other leg was probably drawn up to support the left elbow. The unusual feature of the raising of the left hand to the lips may be accounted for by an accidental reversal, owing to a not unnatural error on the part of the mould-maker; but cf. Nos. 215-217, dealt with below.

No. 187 (*see* Plate XIII.) is a figure wearing the double crown and a wreath. Hair is indicated in two knobs above the forehead, and the lock is present. The god, who is partially clothed, is squatting with the right leg bent in front of his body, and the left knee drawn up under the left arm, which clasps a jar. Into the mouth of this the fingers of the right hand are inserted; cf. Nos. 191, 209, etc. (Phallic).

No. 188, from which the *pschent* is now missing, is the head of a man with beard and drooping moustache (cf. Nos. 244, 245). It is surmounted by a thick wreath. It probably represents Har-uer, the elder Horos.

No. 189, which bears a facial resemblance to No. 153 and other of the Harpokrates heads, is part of a female figure, probably Hart, the feminine form of Har.<sup>3</sup>

We now come to a number of figures and heads in which the presence of two horns rising from the top of the head points to an admixture of the worship of Khonsu-pekhred.<sup>4</sup> Of these one alone, No. 190 (*see* Plate XIII.), has been found which combines the disk as well as the horns of Khonsu with the usual attributes of Harpokrates. We have here the usual child-head with the finger on the lip and the large lock at the right side of the head. Hair is indicated also above the forehead and below the left ear. Above is a thick wreath with broad transverse band, surmounted in turn by the two horns and disk, and by a fillet on each side of the pair of horns.

A more common portrayal (Nos. 191-208) shows the god with the combined crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt set between the horns in the position of the disk in the terracotta last noticed. The first mentioned (No. 191, *see* Plate XIII.),<sup>5</sup> when complete, represented him reclining with his right leg extended and the left bent in front of him, as in Nos. 185, 187, etc. The left arm holds a jar to the side, and into this jar are dipped the fingers of the right hand (cf. No. 187, etc., and *see* note on No. 209). There are bracelets on both wrists. The face is coarse in type, the lock distinct, and the head otherwise bald. The body is naked. The appearance of a hood is produced by the suture of back and front; compare No. 195, and *see* note on Nos. 175-183 above.

<sup>1</sup> If this is the case, we should possibly trace a connection with Roman Cupid figures. There is a winged Harpokrates wearing the *pschent* in the Naples Museum.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. British Museum, C 582.

<sup>3</sup> Wiedemann, *op. cit.* p. 30, describes her as "a goddess of purely grammatical origin," Hathor was worshipped under this name at Sebennytyos.

<sup>4</sup> *See* Budge, *The Mummy*, pp. 271, 2.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. British Museum, C 584.

Of the others, Nos. 192<sup>1</sup>-195 resemble No. 191 in the absence of the finger from the lip. No. 192 wears a large wreath, and, like No. 193, shows indications of hair. No. 194 is also wreathed, but, like No. 195 (*see* Plate XIII.), is bald except for the lock. Nos. 196-200 have the finger on the lip and the usual lock, which in the two last is only noticeable by its differentiation from a lock at the left of the head. Sufficient of No. 200 (*see* Plate XIII.) remains to show that the body was not clothed; the head was encircled by a wreath. Of the remainder, Nos. 201-208,<sup>2</sup> in which the lock is not specially indicated, whilst the forefinger of the right hand is raised to the lips, the first two are particularly interesting. In them the god is shown reclining on the back of a goose,<sup>3</sup> an animal sacred to Amen Râ<sup>4</sup> and to Geb,<sup>5</sup> with a jar beside him (broken away in No. 201, *see* Plate XIII.). In both cases he is clothed. A terracotta in the British Museum resembles these and is furnished with a cornucopia. (Egyptian Room, case M).<sup>6</sup> It came from the Fayûm.

Nos. 203<sup>7</sup> and 204 (Nos. 203, *see* Plate XIII.) also show him clothed, and in the former case he is carrying a jar under his left arm. In all these cases, with the exception of No. 202, which is headless, he is represented as wearing a thick wreath of the usual type, below which hair is visible. No. 206 bears traces of red paint upon the hair and lips, and Nos. 200, 203-5, and 208 have the "shoulder-pieces" already noticed in No. 186, etc. (*see* below).

No. 209,<sup>8</sup> the head-dress of which is broken away, represents the god clothed and sitting as in Nos. 201-2, but with the right hand in the mouth of a jar (*cf.* No. 191, etc.). A second jar, a slender amphora, is beside him, and below is a pear-shaped object, possibly a fig. A "shoulder-piece" is visible above the left shoulder; the head was encircled by a thick wreath. The amphora was painted yellow, the jar and fig a dull red. It seems probable that both jar and fig<sup>9</sup> were emblematic of the fertilizing powers ascribed to Horos,<sup>10</sup> who in these figures is sometimes ithyphallic (British Museum, Egyptian Room, case M). The indication of the "shoulder-piece" upon the background of this specimen makes it appear improbable that the object of such projections was merely to strengthen the figures at the neck. It seems more likely that they are adjuncts of the wreath, possibly the two ends of the band which usually crosses it.

From these figures we pass to Nos. 210-214, a class in which the lock is present in greater or less prominence, whilst the double crown is absent from between the horns, and the hand is not raised to the lips. Among other notable features are in No. 210<sup>11</sup> (*see* Plate XIII.) the hood covering

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hilton Price Collection, 3259.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. British Museum, C 583.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Heuzey, *Fig. Ant. du Louvre*, Pl. 53. He traces this type to the common figures of a child playing with a goose. The reverse order of development seems more probable, as the hieratic usually precedes the genre. Cf. Mon. Ined. xi. 56. 10 (Tarentum); British Museum, C 734, 735 (Cyrenaica), C 613, etc.; Hilton Price Coll. 3251.

<sup>4</sup> Wiedemann, *op. cit.* p. 121.

<sup>5</sup> Wiedemann, *op. cit.* pp. 230-1. "Seb (Geb) was god of the earth, for which his name was used as an equivalent in expressions such as 'on the back of Seb'". . . . "His sacred animal was the goose, and sometimes he is supposed to be connected or even identical with the goose which laid the egg whence issued the world." It would, however, be fanciful to consider Khonsu-Herpekhred's position on the back of a goose symbolical of his world-wide power.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. also a figure in the Naples Museum.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Brit. Mus. Egyptian Room, case M; figure from Memphis.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Brit. Mus. C 582 and C 584. A similar specimen (phallic) is in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. Cf. also a fayence figure in the British Museum, marked 1243<sup>a</sup> and 11745; and H. P. Coll. 3248, 3250-2, 3255, 8.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Plutarch, *op. cit.* 365 B.

<sup>10</sup> British Museum, C 604, a grotesque figure with the lock, carrying a basket, is probably similar in intention; cf. also B. M. C 605; and many figures in Egyptian Room, case M, where Horos is holding a cornucopia; so H. P. Coll. 3247; cf. 3249.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. H. P. Coll. 3260.

an apparently bald head (*see* Nos. 175-183), in No. 211 the jar under the left arm (*see* No. 209), the prominence of the paunch, and the right arm raised so that the hand touches the lock. Both these figures are clothed.

Nos. 215<sup>1</sup>-217 are distinguished from the above by the presence of a hand raised to the mouth, and it is remarkable that the hand so raised is the left hand. In the case of No. 215 all four fingers are laid upon the lower lip, and in the case of the other two the forefinger is placed at the extreme left corner of the mouth. Two instances of a similar and possibly intentional reversal have been already noticed (Nos. 185 and 186). Grotesqueness seems to have been aimed at, especially in the case of No. 217 (*see* Plate XII.), where the features are coarse and bloated.

Nos. 218, 219 (*see* Plate XII.) are faces of an older type, and Nos. 220, 221 are, in addition, evident grotesques. (There are traces of red paint on No. 220.) These two faces,<sup>2</sup> with their sunk foreheads, prominent brows, and partially opened lips, are quite unlike the Khonsu-Horos heads which we have as yet passed in review, and they form an important link between them and a large class of grotesques, the intention of which, without these heads, would be very difficult to divine. The connexion of Nos. 220 and 221 with the Khonsu-Horos heads is perhaps sufficiently marked by the presence of the lock and horns, but apart from this it is possible to trace with some plausibility the actual facial development in the evolution of the grotesques. No. 220, in spite of the exaggeration of its features, bears a distinct general similarity to No. 219: it is a resemblance like that which exists between caricature and portrait: and No. 219 differs from the generality of the heads already noticed only in having a slightly older type of face. Again in Nos. 220 and 221 we have the same sunken foreheads, prominent brows, and partially open lips. The chief difference between them lies in the treatment of the jaws and cheeks: in No. 220 the cheeks are fat, and the lower jaw, if anything, receding, whereas in No. 221 the cheeks are hollow, and the jaw protrudes, so as to produce a somewhat bestial type of countenance, not uncommon in Egypt, and very similar to that of many of the grotesques with which we have now to deal.

Of these Nos. 222-234,<sup>3</sup> (Nos. 230, 231, *see* Plate XII.), while lacking the distinctive lock, unless it is present in No. 234 (*see* Plate XIII.) at the left-side of the head, retain or have signs of the former existence of the two horns. Nos. 224-228 also wear a thick wreath. For the reasons stated above it seems probable that they should be regarded as heads of Khonsu-Horos. In every instance we see a debased and bestial type of face, contemporary possibly with a debasement of the borrowed Egyptian religion by the amalgamation with it of some form of phallic worship. This, at any rate, is the explanation suggested by No. 234 and other figures of a similar nature. Nos. 224 and 229-234 were apparently painted.

Nos. 235-239 (*see* Plate XII.), which bear a close resemblance in face to Nos. 225-228, and are, like them, bald, show no signs of the horns or double crown, but retain the lock. The type of face is purely Egyptian and is the same in all five instances, and a careful measurement makes it appear probable that the last four came from the same mould. The back half of the head differs in each case.

No. 240 (*see* Plate XIII.), a grotesque and bald head, in which the lock is prominently shown, presents the curious feature of a second figure crouching "on all fours" on the top of the head of the first. This latter, with its face turned to the front and arms resting on a drum-shaped object, was apparently provided with either the two horns or the double crown.

No. 241 is less grotesque, but is also an elderly head. The lock is present, and possibly the finger on the lip.

In No. 242 the horns are approximately horizontal and of peculiar shape.

Nos. 243, 244 are heads of old men, horned, and in the case of the latter supplied with long drooping moustachios (*cf.* No. 188).

No. 245, which in this respect resembles No. 244, may possibly be a representation of Bes. A

<sup>1</sup> No. 215 is of slate-coloured clay.

<sup>2</sup> *Cf.* Furtwaengler, *Sabouroff Collection*, p. 138 (Grotesques from Smyrna); Frochner, *Terres Cuites d'Asie*, ii. Pl. 83.

<sup>3</sup> The clay of No. 228 is a dark slate colour in parts.

definite decision on this point is precluded by the incomplete state of the figure, though the shape of the fracture on the top of the head does not suggest the former presence of the plumes of Bes, but rather of the double crown, which, so far as I am aware, does not occur in Bes-figures. For the attitude of the hand cf. No. 286, a Bes-figure.

I am inclined to add Nos. 246-250 to the Khonsu-Horos heads. In the case of No. 247 (cf. No. 187) the object on the right shoulder is possibly the familiar lock. A comparison of Nos. 248 and 184 with this head induces me to believe that the nature of the lock was occasionally misunderstood, so that it was regarded as forming a part of the head-dress. This would account for the form taken by the head-dresses in those instances. No. 248 bears a facial resemblance to No. 231. In the case of Nos. 249<sup>1</sup> and 250 the lock was possibly indicated. In the former the left hand is held over the left ear.

Nos. 251-267, twenty heads in all, cannot be ascribed to this series with any degree of certainty. They have none of the distinctive features of the heads of Horus or Khonsu, unless in the case of No. 266 the lock is indicated at the left side of the head. Nos. 251-256 are heads wearing a wreath, which bear a general though not a marked resemblance to heads already dealt with. The others are grotesques in which, for the most part, there is no such approximation (cf. however No. 261 with No. 229, etc.). In Nos. 263-267,<sup>2</sup> the mouth is represented as wide open. Nos. 266 and 267 are further remarkable as well for their exaggerated ugliness as for the skill and ingenuity with which it is portrayed. There are signs of paint on Nos. 251 and 267.

There remain a seated figure playing on a pipe (No. 268), which a comparison with No. 174 and the breakage at the top of the head dispose me to rank with the Khonsu-Horos figures, and two phallic figures, which the presence of the lock in the one case, and of an amphora (see No. 209) in the other, seem to place in the same category. Nos. 271-280 and a large number of indecent types, so-called drummer figures, musicians, etc., perhaps ought to be added to the list, but a discussion of their types is profitless.<sup>3</sup>

Nos. 281 and 282 are two figures mounted on horseback. A round shield is visible behind the horse's fore-legs. Both the heads are missing, but a comparison with two terracottas in the British Museum (Egyptian Room, case M), labelled "Eros on Horseback," and "Eros, or Genius, as Roman horse-soldier," the former of which has the familiar horns, and with an armoured figure in the Petrie collection, distinguished by the lock as Horus, inclines me to regard our specimens as portrayals of a warrior Harpokrates.<sup>4</sup>

Nos. 283-285 are parts of three (?) phallic figures. The first is a seated figure of crude work and light-coloured clay; the second was apparently a squatting figure, and the third a grotesque upright figure of a dwarf with bandy legs, possibly Bes. Both No. 284 and No. 285 betray considerable skill in their modelling.

Nos. 286-289A are portions of Bes figures.<sup>5</sup> The most perfect one, No. 286, shows him naked, with plumes upon his head, an uplifted sword in his right hand, and an oval shield upon his left arm. Nos. 289 and 289A resemble the head of a bronze statuette of Sepd in the Berlin Museum, pictured in Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 165.

No. 290 (see Plate XII.) is the upper half of a bearded figure in hard light-coloured clay, wearing a hooded cloak. Similar figures of similar clay have been found in Cyprus<sup>6</sup> and Phoenicia.<sup>7</sup> The details of the beard and features are sharply cut.

It is possibly intended for a priest. Date ? 6th century.

<sup>1</sup> Brick-red terracotta.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. British Museum, C 623; also C 624-627.

<sup>3</sup> For the object in the hand of No. 271, cf. B. Vienne, Sacken XXVII. 3 Haut-relief, Reinach, *op. cit.* p. 65, a Silenus group.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Hilton Price Coll. 3256, where pschent and horns are present.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. British Museum, C 593, C 608; H. P. Coll. 3269, etc.

<sup>6</sup> *Collection J. Greau*, 389.

<sup>7</sup> Heuzey, *Fig. Ant. du Louvre*, Pl. 5. He considers the type to be Phoenician; Mr. Huish, *op. cit.* p. 45, calls the style "Pseudo-Assyrian."

Nos. 291<sup>1</sup>-297 are parts of male figures, "Apollos" or the like. No. 291<sup>2</sup> (see Plate XII.) is the most perfect, and of fairly early date, say c. 300 B.C. It is a standing figure, and in the pose of head and body seems to have borrowed from the art of Praxiteles. The head is very slightly inclined, and the eyes gaze away into the distance as they do in the Hermes of Olympia. The left leg is bent at the knee, throwing the body into an easy attitude, and making the right hip project. Both arms were bent at the elbow (they are now missing below that joint), and a garment thrown over the left arm falls in folds by the side of the body. The other specimens are not very noteworthy, one, No. 295, was a seated figure, and another, No. 296, which is cleverly modelled, has the arms folded behind the back as if to support some burden. No. 297, which is inferior in workmanship, perhaps carried an offering in its left hand.

No. 298 is a finely-modelled head, possibly of Asklepios.

No. 299 is a small seated figure of Pan playing on his pipes. It is of a white friable clay.

No. 300 (see Plate XII.) : a primitive figure, with the left arm resting on the hip ; possibly a doll.

No. 301 : a primitive figure seated, possibly on horseback (cf. No. 345). The face has been made simply by pinching the soft clay between finger and thumb, as is the case with the earliest figures from Hissarlik, and the eyes have been marked with a stick or other rough implement ; possibly a toy.

Nos. 302, 303 : two negro heads, both representing children. The former is painted red.

Nos. 304-311 are parts of figures mostly of very crude workmanship, representing helmeted soldiers ; Nos. 305 and 308 have oval shields, and the former also a short sword ; possibly toys.

Nos. 312-315 are Medusa heads, which were probably obtained from the cemetery.<sup>3</sup> Mr. Cecil Smith considers the heads recovered at the last excavation to be heads of Hypnos. The idea is a pretty one, but certainly cannot be correct in the case of No. 312, which is an undoubted gorgoneion. Also one of the more beautiful heads, No. 315, exhibits "the conventional knot of snakes beneath the chin."

Nos. 316-318 appear to be models of tragic masks ; female.

Nos. 319 and 320 are probably Silenus heads.

Nos. 321-324 are models of masks : No. 322 is tragic, the rest comic.

Nos. 325 and 326 are parts of figures of actors wearing comic masks.

No. 327 in its present state consists of a tip-tilted nose and an effective grin.

No. 328 is part of a figure of a boy of Egyptian type. He is holding part of a garment, but the intention of the figure is not clear.

No. 329 : two crude figures, male and female, seated side by side.

No. 330 : noseless male head, of heavy slate-coloured clay and poor workmanship.

No. 331 : model of capital of Egyptian column, consisting of two heads placed back to back, Janus-fashion.

No. 332 : a Janus-head, male and female. It was probably the stopper of a jar originally, but was worn away below and pierced for suspension. The surface is covered with a creamy paint, on which ornaments, sexual indications, and other details, are marked in black-brown.

No. 333 : cat's head.

No. 334 : cow's leg, in hard light red terracotta ; good work.

No. 335 : cow's head.

No. 336 : forepart of crocodile with food in its mouth ; possibly to be connected with the worship of Sebek, or that of Horos and Set.<sup>4</sup>

No. 337 : camel's head and neck, of light-coloured clay.

Nos. 338 and 339 : dogs.

Nos. 340 and 341 : parts of hippopotami. The hippopotamus is connected with Set and Taftir.<sup>5</sup>

No. 342 : sphinx.

<sup>1</sup> The terracotta of No. 292 is reddish-brown in colour, and soapy to the touch. Cf. No. 362.

<sup>2</sup> From 14A (see Plan). <sup>3</sup> See *Naukratis*, ii. p. 25.

<sup>4</sup> See Wiedmann, pp. 70-4, 143-5, etc. <sup>5</sup> See Wiedemann, pp. 70-4, and p. 168.

*No.* 343 : lion's head.

*No.* 344 : cock's head painted red, fine workmanship.

*No.* 345 (*see* Plate XII.) : primitive figure of man on horseback ; probably a toy (*cf.* *No.* 301).

*Nos.* 346-351 : horses' heads, the marks of breakages at the sides of the neck in many of these specimens are probably the points at which the horseman's arms were attached, as in *No.* 345. Crude work.

*Nos.* 352 and 353 : ? cows' heads ; crude workmanship.

*No.* 354 : body of an ? ibis.

*Nos.* 355<sup>1</sup> and 356 are perhaps intended for birds.

*No.* 357 : three amphorae standing in front of a ? fountain.

*No.* 358 : an amphora standing in front of a post.

*No.* 359 : fragment of a shrine, showing an Ionic capital, part of the column below it and part of the pediment ; light coloured clay.

*No.* 360 : legs of a female figure, naked. *Cf.* British Museum, C 574.

*Nos.* 361 and 362 : feet. The terra-cotta of *No.* 362 is a smooth reddish-brown, *cf.* *No.* 292.

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<sup>1</sup> *Cf.* Cesnola, *Cyprus*, Pl. 8.



## ANNUAL MEETING OF SUBSCRIBERS.

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THE Annual Meeting of Subscribers to the BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS was held in the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, on October 30th, 1899, Sir WILLIAM R. ANSON, Bart., D.C.L. (Warden of All Souls' College, and M.P. for Oxford University), in the Chair. The following Report was read by the Hon. Secretary (Mr. WILLIAM LORING) on behalf of the Managing Committee :—

The past Session has been marked by successful exploration in several different fields. Excavations have been carried out at Phylakopi in Melos, at Naucratis in Egypt, and at Pherae (the modern Velestino) in Thessaly; while a member of the School was-deputed, at the request of the authorities of the British Museum, to supervise the work undertaken by them in the island of Cyprus.

The Students were ten in number, of whom three were graduates of Oxford, four of Cambridge, and one of Edinburgh. One, Mr. Henderson, late Gold Medallist of the Royal Academy, was entirely occupied, as in the previous Session, in the study and reproduction of Byzantine architecture in Constantinople; and one Mr. T. D. Atkinson, Secretary of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, went out as Architect to the excavations in Melos. Mr. Atkinson was of the greatest help in elucidating the complicated remains on the citadel of Phylakopi; and the definitive publication of the results of the last three seasons' work upon that site, which is now being prepared, will owe much to his experience and industry. He also found time in passing through Athens to revise, on behalf of the Hellenic Society, the drawings of the Acropolis left unpublished by the late Dr. Middleton.

Mr. Mackenzie (Edinburgh and Vienna Universities) was occupied, like Mr. Atkinson, almost entirely in Melos; sharing with Mr. Edgar the direction of the excavations there. Mr. Mackenzie has followed this undertaking without a break from its inception in 1896, and has rendered very valuable service in connexion with t.

Of the seven remaining Students, Mr. C. C. Edgar (formerly Craven Fellow) came out for the fourth time, remained throughout the Session, and has done excellent work, first in Athens in sorting and preparing for publication the pottery found in the preceding spring, and later at Naucratis and in Melos. The new Craven Fellow, Mr. F. B. Welch (Magdalen College, Oxford) assisted Mr. Edgar in Athens for a month and a half, and then left for Cyprus on the British Museum commission to which reference has already been made.

Mr. J. H. Lawson (Pembroke College, Cambridge) and Mr. C. D. Edmonds (Emmanuel College, Cambridge), Craven and Prendergast Students respectively, were already in Athens when the Session began, and remained almost to the end. The former was mainly occupied in the study of Greek folk-lore, and the latter in that of the early history of Thessaly. It was Mr. Edmonds who, as already mentioned, excavated a tumulus near Pherae, by great good fortune striking almost immediately upon the tomb-chamber, which happened in this instance to be situated in the very centre of the tumulus. In a sloping plastered pit was found the body of a sacrificed ram, and in a lower pit, closed with a painted slab, was an untouched burial, apparently of the latter part of the third century B.C. The ashes of the deceased were enclosed in a silver vase decorated with a fine moulded head of the young Herakles. There were also found gold head bands, wreaths, beads, and a little pottery. The great size and conspicuous character of the tumulus, and its relation to Pherae, had inspired hopes that it might contain the bones of one of the famous Tyrants. The contents belied this hope, but nevertheless this is an interesting and important find in a region very little explored.

Mr. Clement Gutch (Scholar of King's College, Cambridge) held the Studentship of £50 offered annually by the Committee to the University of Cambridge. He made a special study, in Athens, of ancient Greek dress. Since returning to England he has done useful work in sorting and preparing for publication the terracottas found at Naucratis. Mr. J. K. Fotheringham (Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford) held the Studentship offered annually to Oxford University; and Mr. J. H. Marshall (Scholar of King's College, Cambridge) went out on his own account, and studied general Greek archaeology in Athens.

It will have been understood from what precedes that the principal corporate undertakings of the School in the past Session were the excavations at Naucratis and at Phylakopi (Melos). The former had not been contemplated at the opening of the Session; it was taken up in the course of the winter on the suggestion of the Director, who had received news of the gradual encroachment of irrigation, with a view to cultivation, on parts of the ancient site which had been left unexplored by Messrs. Petrie and Ernest Gardner. Since all the money available for excavation, out of the ordinary funds of the School, was required for Phylakopi, a special fund was raised for Naucratis by private subscription, chiefly among members of the Committee, and when this had already reached a substantial amount, a generous and wholly unexpected contribution of £100 from the Society of Dilettanti relieved the Committee of all anxiety on the score of funds. Ultimately the whole cost of

the work at Naucratis was met by the subscription from the Society of Dilettanti, and by smaller, but most welcome, subscriptions from the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford and the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, the contributions of private subscribers being transferred with their consent to the fund for Phylakopi. The Committee greatly appreciate this practical recognition on the part of the Society of Dilettanti, a body which has itself done such splendid work for archaeology in the Levant. The work at Naucratis was done in the latter part of February and the earlier part of March. The site of the great Hellenion was found, identified, and partly cleared; not at the south (where previous explorers had placed it) but at the north end of the mounds of Gaif: a quantity of dedications to "The Gods of the Greeks" and to many individual deities place the identity beyond question. Besides these a deposit of fine fifth century terra-cottas, relics of an Aphrodite cultus, was unearthed in the enclosure, and also some very interesting early sculpture and vase fragments. The plans of two successive shrines at least were partly recovered before an influx of water and the great height of the mounds to the north-east stopped the work. A large number of objects was bought from the native *sebakh* diggers; and these, together with almost everything found in the excavation itself, after being submitted to inspection at Ghizeh, were allowed to be sent to England. They were on view in this room for a short time in the summer; and they will ultimately be placed in the British, Ashmolean, and Fitzwilliam Museums.

The excavation of the prehistoric site of Phylakopi, in Melos—began in 1896 and continued in 1897 and 1898—was resumed in the middle of April by Messrs. Mackenzie, Edgar, and Atkinson, under the general supervision of the Director. The programme for this season was to clear as much of the north, centre and east, of the site as possible down to the rock, beginning with the group of productive chambers which had begun to be opened just as work ceased in the spring of 1898. The principal results of the excavation were the discovery of a very perfect *Megaron* of Mycenaean type, with surrounding court, well, etc., and very well preserved houses, both of the Mycenaean and of the successive earlier settlements. A much clearer idea was obtained of the different periods to which constructions all over the site were to be referred, and the lines of streets and watercourses and the general town plan were greatly elucidated. The yield of pottery was, as before, immense, and included some very curious and perfect pieces. The specimens of the later wares were better this season than last, but specimens of the earliest wares became rarer and less satisfactory as the lower part of the hillock was proceeded with. Stone vessels, bronze fragments, and other miscellaneous objects were also found, and especial mention is due to an ivory ring engraved with a draped female in act of adoration before an altar. About one-third of the hillock is still not at all, or very imperfectly, explored; but our trial pits show that it contains remains precisely similar to those on other parts of the site, and its complete clearance would involve an expenditure of money which the circumstances of the School do not at present justify. Phylakopi has already been laid bare to at least as great an extent as Mycenae, Tiryns, or any other site of the same description. Though it can hardly claim to vie with these in romantic interest, its archaeological importance, as an

epitome of the "Mycenaean" and earlier periods on the coasts and islands of the Aegean, is scarcely inferior to theirs. The Committee wish to acknowledge their obligations to the Hellenic Society, who have undertaken to provide a large supplementary number of their "Journal," similar to the one containing the account of the excavations at Megalopolis, for the adequate publication of the results obtained at Phylakopi.

But a more important work than even that at Phylakopi, and one which may be expected to throw new light on much that has been found on that site, is now in prospect.

The new conditions in which Crete has recently been placed, and the final emancipation of the island from Turkish rule, have at last rendered it possible to organize a serious effort to recover the evidences of her early civilization.

How important are the results which a thoroughgoing investigation in this field holds out to archaeological science may be gathered from what has already been brought to light in far less favourable circumstances. The great inscription containing the early laws of Gortyna stands alone as a monument of Greek civic legislation. The bronzes of the Idaean cave have afforded a unique revelation of the beginnings of classical Greek art. Further researches, to which English investigation has largely contributed, have brought into relief the important part played here by the Mycenaean and still earlier civilizations; traces of what is believed to be an indigenous system of sign writing, anterior to the use of the Phoenician alphabet, have recently been found; and indications have come to light which attest an intercourse with Egypt going back to the third and, it may be, even the fourth millennium before our era.

The better to solve the many interesting problems thus opened up, a 'Cretan Exploration Fund,' has been formed, under the joint management of Mr. Arthur Evans and the Director of the School at Athens. By the efforts of Mr. Evans, acting in conjunction with the Director, a series of sites, selected for their historic importance or specially representative character, has been secured for British enterprise. Knossos, the city of Minos, and the centre of the ancient sea-power of Crete; Praesos, a chief stronghold of the original Eteocretan race; Lyttos, regarded as the model Dorian city; and the famous Diktaean cave, the legendary birthplace of Zeus, have all been reserved for the Cretan Fund; and the intention is to proceed in course of time to other sites. It is almost needless to say that England is not alone in this attractive field. Both France and Italy are already claiming their share, and others may be expected to follow suit. The Committee feel the importance of immediate action; and they think it may be found desirable to concentrate on Crete, for several years to come, all the energies and funds available for excavation.

Mr. R. C. Bosanquet, formerly a Student of the School, and for the past year a member of the School Committee, has been appointed to the post of Assistant-Director, which has been created for this year only. The principal reason for this appointment is Mr. Hogarth's strong desire to be released from the responsibility of educational work in Athens itself, and

to be able to devote the whole of his energies to excavation and research. Mr. Hogarth will be required to reside in Greek lands for six months only, the bulk of which will be spent in Crete, while Mr. Bosanquet will reside eight months, taking charge of the School and its Students in Athens. The Committee attach great importance to maintaining the more purely educational work of the School alongside of the exploratory work; and they trust that the arrangement they have made will ensure that neither side shall be neglected.

The Library has received an accession of about 200 new books and pamphlets. The catalogue, which has long been in the press, has been completed to June 1899, and printed. The Committee are prepared to supply a copy *gratis* to any subscriber to the School who may apply for it.

The fourth number of the *Annual* was published in July last. Its contents dealt mainly with the work in Melos, but Mr. J. G. C. Anderson, a former student, contributed an account of a recent journey of exploration in Asia Minor, while another old student, Mr. J. W. Crowfoot, supplied some notes upon Late Anatolian Art. The total number of periodicals received by the School in exchange for the *Annual* is now sixteen, and includes such important publications as the *Bulletin* and *Mittheilungen* of the French and German Schools at Athens.

One important development of the work of the School, which has recently engaged the attention of the Committee, remains to be mentioned. It has for some time past been felt that to complete the organisation required by British students it would be necessary to establish a British School at Rome upon lines somewhat similar to those of the School at Athens, a step which has already been taken by the French, the Germans, and more recently by the Americans.

During the past few months a Sub-Committee appointed by the Committee of the British School at Athens has been occupied in drafting a scheme for a sister School in Rome. This scheme has received the general approval of a Provisional Committee including more than a hundred scholars, artists, and representative men in various departments of public life, and a small Executive Committee has been appointed by them to take the necessary steps for carrying it into effect. The Committee therefore hope that in their next Annual Report they may be in a position to announce the Roman School as an accomplished fact.

In many respects the work of a British School in Italy would be similar to that of the existing School in Greece. But there are two great differences. On the one hand research in Rome offers a much wider field of enquiry, including besides Classical Archaeology such subjects as Palaeography, Ecclesiastical Antiquities, Mediaeval History, and Italian Art. On the other hand the rules of the Italian Government debar foreign Students from undertaking excavations on their own account.

It is proposed that the Schools at Athens and Rome should ultimately be placed under the management of a single Committee. Further particulars as to the Roman scheme will be given in a circular which is to be issued immediately.

The School at Athens has been unfortunate in the loss, during the past year, of several valued and important supporters. The deaths of Lord Herschell, Baron F. de Rothschild and Lady Howard de Walden, make a gap in the list of subscribers which it will be hard to fill. The liberality of the Society of Dilettanti, however, has enabled a larger sum than of late to be spent upon excavation, without encroaching on the regular income of the School, and part of the special expenditure of last year on Hostel Furniture has been replaced to Capital Account.

The Committee have to remind supporters of the School, however, that a more serious situation will have to be faced next year. Some most important subscriptions, promised in 1895 for a term of five years, will then expire, and unless either they are renewed, or an equivalent addition to the regular income of the School is obtained, future work will be most seriously cramped. It is to this object, coupled with the proposed establishment of a British School at Rome, that the Committee will have to devote their most anxious attention ; and they appeal to their present supporters for all additional help, pecuniary or otherwise, which it may be in their power to give.

In moving the adoption of the report the CHAIRMAN said :

"I think that I may fairly and heartily congratulate the Managing Committee and those concerned in the conduct of the work of the School on the excellent record of work done, and not only on work done, but on the good prospect of future successful work which the report holds out to us.

"Excavations begun in previous years have been carried to a successful conclusion ; new work has begun, and in the contemplated exploration of Crete it is clear that the Society has a wide and fruitful field for its labours in ensuing years.

"I notice that funds have been forthcoming for these works, in the past year, sometimes from unexpected sources, but that some anxiety is felt as to the continuance of subscriptions granted for a term of years and expiring in 1900.

"I trust that the past work of the School and the progress which it has made, not only on the lines of exploration, but of education, will ensure the continuance of these payments and an influx from new sources of revenue.

"At the same time I notice that, undeterred by the financial anxieties which are suggested in the concluding sentences of the report, the Committee are promoting a new sister school at Rome.

"The value of such a school, I might almost say the necessity of such a school, is very clearly indicated in the report. The work will obviously be very different from that of the School at Athens. It will be more that of a student and less that of an explorer ; but it will, in course of time, enable the Society to work from the two great centres of that civilization which we call classical, tracing that civilization back to its origin, and following out its development and influence in mediaeval history.

"Here I would gladly bring my remarks to a close by moving the adoption of the report ; but I observe on the *agenda* paper that I am to give an address, and a

study of the remarks of my predecessors in the chair on these occasions shows me that I follow a strict and unvarying precedent when I say, in respect of this address, that I am wholly incompetent for the task.

"The truth is that my school and college days were passed in the benighted period when the classics were studied as literature, with variations taking the form of excursions into the domain of philology, in which, individually, I did not take part. And this mode of regarding the classical authors as representing the sum total of what needed to be known of classical times, reacted to some extent upon the study of history, for this was valued as presenting a variety of picturesque events, of great or interesting characters, suitable for literary treatment.

"Perhaps I may be said to make too broad a generalization, and doubtless it may need in many respects to be qualified, but I think that my description does represent on the whole the way in which classical and historical study presented itself, say, to the Eton boy in the decade of the fifties.

"Now, on the other hand, classical study means a laborious compilation of detail, not merely the collation of manuscripts, but the search for and interpretation of inscriptions, the exploration of sites, the examination of early forms of architecture and art, of building materials and of articles of domestic use.

"And thus we are informed not only of the exciting events, but of the daily life, of ancient times; and parts of history hitherto unexplored are opened to us—unexplored either because they were unconnected with picturesque incident, or because they lie behind what we had hitherto regarded as the beginning of Greek History.

"But there is a question which anyone whose life is mainly spent in a University must needs ask himself. What is the educational value of these as compared with the older studies? What is their comparative influence on the character, and on the intellect?

"Mr. Jebb, in his Romanes lecture of this year, pointed out in some striking passages the part which these old classical studies played in forming the characters of the classes who, a century ago, were the leaders of the nation. The literatures of Greece and Rome entered into their lives, and recurred to them as fit exponents of their deeper feelings in after life. Perhaps the type of character so formed was wanting in patience and industry, but it is something that the material on which a man has been educated has so far become a part of himself that it affords an illustration, a resource, a consolation, in the ups and downs of an eventful career. I do not think that this particular educational quality can be claimed for classical archaeology, or that in a crisis of life, a man would find strength or consolation in reminiscences of the exploration of Mycenaean building or of the ingenious deciphering of an inscription.

"And I fear too, in respect of the modern minuteness of special study, a tendency to narrow the intellectual range. The man who knows, or aspires to know, everything about something, may not willingly admit that he knows, for working purposes, anything worth knowing about anything else; and this leads to a sort of intellectual

faintheartedness, a disinclination to move outside one special study. A man forgets that he may know enough of a subject to form an opinion, and act upon it, although he may not know enough to write a monograph.

"For this reason I should like to see classical archaeology—except as to its results, made a matter of post-graduate study. I know, by experience, that to the teacher, the thing that he has last learned himself, whether it be an acquisition of new knowledge, or a method of acquiring knowledge, seems to be the one thing that everybody ought to know. But nevertheless I would suggest that to those who are *in statu pupillari* teaching can well be made *real* without being unduly special in its content, and that the results rather than the methods of archaeological study should be imparted to and required of the young.

"There is another fear which I have heard expressed, but which I do not share. It is that history will cease to be literature, and will become a laborious collection of small facts in which great characters and great events will alike be buried. We are, no doubt, by our accumulation of material, imposing a heavy burden on the historians of the future, in the way of investigation and selection, but I have no fear that history will be worse written because it is founded on wide and minute knowledge, and treated with scientific method.

"And, in history, great men and great events will take care of themselves. At the Royal Academy dinner this year I heard the Secretary of State for War apologize humorously for the way in which modern military science had brought about a decline of the picturesque in war. The events of the last week have shown us that despite all that military science can do, individual courage and endurance still stand out in bold outlines and colour in the charge up the mountain-side or the hand-to-hand struggle among the rocks.

"And so, though I deprecate a large introduction of the methods of classical archaeology into the educational course of our Schools and Universities, I have no fear that education will be anything but a gainer by the results of the modern studies. I have no fear that classical literature will be absorbed and lost, or the writing of history damaged in literary quality by the accumulation of material.

"The researches of your Society, as was said by one of my predecessors in this chair, will not only add to the stores of knowledge, but will stimulate thought.

"I will end by the expression of a sincere hope that the work of your Society may continue to grow in extent and value, and that funds may not fail for the maintenance of the two Schools in Athens and Rome."

Mr. F. E. THOMPSON, formerly Assistant Master at Marlborough College, seconded the motion and took occasion to dwell on the important contribution made by archaeology to the subject-matter of scholastic studies. The report was unanimously adopted.

The Director of the School (Mr. D. G. HOGARTH), explained the reasons which had led him to desire the appointment of an Assistant Director, and gave some account of the excavations of the past session, and of the plans for prospective work in Crete.

The following Resolution was moved by Prof. ERNEST GARDNER, seconded by Mr. J. G. C. ANDERSON, and carried unanimously.

That Mr. PENROSE and Mr. MYRES be re-elected, and that Dr. J. S. REID and Mr. F. J. HAVERFIELD be elected, members of the Managing Committee; and that Dr. LEAF be re-elected Treasurer; Mr. LORING, Hon. Secretary; Lord LINGEN and Sir FREDERICK POLLOCK, Auditors for the ensuing session.

A vote of thanks to the Auditors (moved by Dr. LEAF and seconded by Mr. PENROSE) and to the Chairman (moved by Prof. PELHAM and seconded by Mr. MACMILLAN), were carried by acclamation.

After a few words of sympathy with the scheme for establishing a school at Rome from Admiral Sir ERASMUS OMMANEY, the meeting came to a close.

## INCOME AND EXPENDITURE 4TH OCTOBER, 1898, TO 4TH OCTOBER, 1899.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Annual Subscriptions as							Director's salary . . . . .	500	0	0			
per list . . . . .	824	4	0				Architect, Mr. Atkinson . . . . .	100	0	0			
Less, not yet paid . . . . .	6	1	0				Studentship, Mr. Edgar . . . . .	50	0	0			
				818	3	0	Mr. Fotheringham . . . . .	50	0	0			
Subscriptions for 1897-8 . . . . .				3	1	0	Mr. Gutch . . . . .	50	0	0			
Government Grant . . . . .				500	0	0	Mr. Mackenzie . . . . .	50	0	0			
Excavation Fund, Naucratis . . . . .				187	4	0	House maintenance . . . . .	52	11	7			
Interest on Investment . . . . .				58	0	0	Hostel maintenance . . . . .	49	15	9			
Sales of Annual, Part II. . . . .				2	19	1	Less Students' Fees . . . . .	35	19	0			
											13	16	9
							Excavations, Melos . . . . .	206	19	0			
							Naucratis . . . . .	121	8	4			
							Travelling, &c. . . . .	47	15	3			
											376	2	7
							Publication of Annual—						
							Part I. balance . . . . .	4	18	9			
							Part III. „ . . . .	36	14	1			
							Part IV. . . . .	97	14	1			
											139	6	11
							Printing, Postage, &c. . . . .	28	14	0			
							Sundries . . . . .	34	14	9			
							Balance . . . . .	124	0	6			
											£1,569	7	1

## BYZANTINE FUND.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Balance from last Account . . . . .	55	9	2	Insurance of Drawings . . . . .	0	7	6
				Balance . . . . .	55	1	8
	£55	9	2		£55	9	2

# INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

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## CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Balance from last account . . . . .	2,297	18	1	Library . . . . .	53	4	8
Donations . . . . .	73	0	0	Hostel Furniture . . . . .	8	6	5
Balance, Income and Expenditure account . . . . .	124	0	6	Balance . . . . .	2,433	7	6
	<u>£2,494</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>7</u>		<u>£2,494</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>7</u>

## BALANCE ACCOUNT.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Balance of Capital . . . . .	2,433	7	6	Cash at Bankers . . . . .	488	9	2
„ Byzantine Fund . . . . .	55	1	8	India 3% Stock, at par . . . . .	2,000	0	0
	<u>£2,488</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>2</u>		<u>£2,488</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>2</u>

Examined and found correct,

LINGEN,  
F. POLLOCK.

October 24th, 1899

## DONATIONS—1898-9.

	£	s.	d.
Christie, R. C. . . . .	5	0	0
Darbshire, R. D. . . . .	20	0	0
Elliot, F. E. H. . . . .	3	0	0
Harris, A. . . . .	5	0	0
G. A. M. . . . .	9	10	0
Macmillan & Co. . . . .	20	0	0
Myres, J. L. . . . .	10	10	0
	<u>£73</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>

## EXCAVATION FUND—NAUCRATIS.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Society of Dilettanti . . .	100	0	0	Loring, W. . . . .	5	0	0
Fitzwilliam Museum . . .	15	0	0	Macmillan, G. A. . . . .	5	0	0
Ashmolean Museum . . .	10	0	0	Myres, J. L. . . . .	2	2	0
Evans, A. J. . . . .	10	0	0	Penrose, F. C. . . . .	2	2	0
Freshfield, D. W. . . . .	3	0	0	Yates, Rev. S. A. Thompson	5	0	0
Gardner, Prof. E. . . . .	5	0	0		<u>£187</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>
Gardner, Prof. P. . . . .	5	0	0				
Johnston, C. E. . . . .	10	0	0				
Leaf, Walter . . . . .	10	0	0				

## ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS—1898-9.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES . . . . .	25	0	0	Brinton, H. . . . .	1	1	0
The University of Oxford . . . . .	100	0	0	Brooke, Rev. Stopford . . . . .	1	1	0
The University of Cambridge . . . . .	100	0	0	Butcher, Prof. . . . .	2	2	0
McGill University, Montreal . . . . .	5	5	0	Butler, Dr. . . . .	2	0	0
The Hellenic Society . . . . .	100	0	0	Buxton, H. E. . . . .	1	0	0
The Society of Antiquaries . . . . .	5	5	0	Bury, Prof. J. B. . . . .	1	1	0
Brasenose College, Oxford . . . . .	5	0	0				
Christ Church, Oxford . . . . .	20	0	0				
Corpus Christi College, Oxford . . . . .	5	0	0				
Magdalen College, Oxford . . . . .	10	0	0				
King's College, Cambridge . . . . .	10	0	0				
	£	s.	d.				
Agnew, Sir W. . . . .	2	2	0				
Allbutt, Professor T. C. . . . .	1	1	0				
Austen Leigh, E. C. . . . .	1	1	0				
Awdry, H. . . . .	1	1	0				
Bailey, J. C. . . . .	5	0	0				
Barlow, Dr. T. . . . .	1	1	0				
Bodington, Dr. N. . . . .	1	0	0				
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R. Elsey Smith,	Professor of Architecture and Construction, King's College, London. Appointed to Studentship by Royal Institute of British Architects, 1887—88.
Robert Weir Schultz,	Admitted as Travelling Student and Gold Medallist of the Royal Academy, 1887—88. Re-admitted 1888—89, 1889—90.
Sidney H. Barnsley,	Admitted as Student of the Royal Academy, 1887—88. Re-admitted 1889—90, 1890—91.
J. A. R. Munro,	Fellow and Tutor of Lincoln College, Oxford. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1888—89. Re-admitted (for same purpose) 1889—90.

- H. Arnold Tubbs, Pembroke College, Oxford; Craven University Fellow. Professor of Classics in the University of Auckland. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1888-89. Re-admitted (for same purpose) 1889-90.
- James G. Frazer, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1889-90, with grant of £100 from the University of Cambridge to collect material for commentary on Pausanias.
- William Loring, Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Examiner in the Education Department. Secretary of the School since 1897. Appointed to Cambridge Studentship, 1889-90. Re-admitted as Craven University Student, 1890-91, 1891-92, and 1892-93.
- W. J. Woodhouse, Queen's College, Oxford. Lecturer in Ancient History and Political Philosophy at the University of St. Andrew's. Appointed to Oxford Studentship, 1889-90. Re-admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1891-92 and 1892-93.
- G. C. Richards, Formerly Fellow of Hertford College; and late Professor of Greek at University College, Cardiff; Lecturer at Oriel College, Oxford. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1889-90. Re-admitted 1890-91.
- O. H. Parry, Magdalen College, Oxford. Archbishop's Missioner to the Nestorian Christians. Admitted 1889-90.
- J. R. Stainer, Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1889-90.
- R. A. H. Bickford-Smith, Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1889-90.
- A. G. Bather, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge; Assistant Master at Winchester College. Admitted 1889-90. Re-admitted 1891-92, on appointment to the Cambridge Studentship 1892-93 as Prendergast Greek Student; and again, 1893-94, as Cambridge Student.
- E. E. Sikes, Fellow and Lecturer of St. John's College, Cambridge. Appointed to Cambridge Studentship, 1890-91.
- J. G. Milne, Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Examiner in the Education Department. Appointed to Oxford Studentship, 1890-91.
- H. Stuart Jones, Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Oxford. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1890-91. Re-admitted 1892-93.
- Miss Eugénie Sellers, Admitted 1890-91. (Mrs. S. Arthur Strong.)
- F. B. Baker, Christ's College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Malvern College. Admitted 1891-92.
- C. C. Inge, Magdalen College, Oxford. Appointed 1891-92 to the Oxford Studentship.
- E. F. Benson, King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1891-92, with grant of £100 from the Worts Fund at Cambridge; 1892-93 on appointment to the Cambridge Studentship. 1893-94 as Craven Student; and 1894-95 as Prendergast Student.
- J. G. Smith, Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1891-92. Re-admitted 1895-96.
- V. W. Yorke, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1892-93. Re-admitted 1893-94.
- J. L. Myres, Student of Christ Church, and late Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1892-93. Re-admitted 1893-94, and 1894-95 as Craven Fellow.

# LIST OF STUDENTS.

11

R. J. G. Mayor,	Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and Examiner in the Education Department. Admitted 1892—93.
R. Carr Bosanquet,	Trinity College, Cambridge. Assistant Director of the School, 1899—1900. Admitted 1892—93. Re-admitted as Craven University Student 1894—95, 1895—96, and 1896—97.
J. M. Cheetham,	Christ Church, Oxford. Admitted on appointment to the Oxford Studentship. 1892—93.
E. R. Bevan,	New College, Oxford. Admitted 1893—94.
A. F. Findlay,	Sent out from Aberdeen by the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Admitted 1894—95.
T. Duncan,	Sent out from Aberdeen by the Church of Scotland. Admitted 1894—95.
J. E. Brooks,	St. Peter's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1894—95. Re-admitted as Associate 1896—97.
H. Awdry,	New College, Oxford. Assistant Master at Wellington College. Admitted 1894—95.
Duncan Mackenzie,	Universities of Edinburgh and Vienna. Admitted 1895—6. Re-admitted 1896—7, 1897—8 and 1898—9.
Archibald Paterson,	University of Edinburgh. Admitted 1895—96.
Charles R. R. Clark,	Appointed (1895—96), and re-appointed 1896—97 by the Managing Committee to an Architectural Studentship.
C. C. Edgar,	Oriel College, Oxford. English Member of the Cataloguing Committee, Ghizeh Museum. Admitted 1895—96, and re-admitted 1896—97 (as Craven University Fellow), 1897—98 and 1898—9.
F. R. Earp,	Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1896—97.
F. A. C. Morrison,	Jesus College, Cambridge. Admitted (as Prendergast Greek Student) 1896—97.
H. H. West,	Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1896—97.
Miss C. A. Hutton,	Girton College, Cambridge. Admitted 1896—97.
Pieter Rodeck,	Admitted 1896—97 as Travelling Student and Gold Medallist of the Royal Academy.
J. G. C. Anderson,	Late Fellow of Lincoln College, Lecturer of Christ Church, Oxford. Admitted (as Craven University Fellow) 1896—97.
J. W. Crowfoot,	Hulmean Exhibitioner of Brasenose College, Oxford. Lecturer in Classics, Mason College, Birmingham. Admitted, on appointment to the Oxford Studentship, 1896—97. Re-admitted 1897—98.
W. W. Reid,	Universities of Aberdeen and Edinburgh. Admitted, as holder of Blackie Travelling Scholarship, 1896—97.
A. E. Henderson,	Gold Medallist and Travelling Student of the Royal Academy. Admitted 1897—98. Re-admitted 1898—9.
W. A. Curtis,	Heriot Scholar of Edinburgh University. Admitted 1897—98.
A. J. Spilsbury,	Queen's College, Oxford. Admitted 1897—98, on appointment to the Oxford Studentship.
E. B. Hoare,	Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1897—98, as Architectural Student.
J. G. Lawson,	Pembroke College, Cambridge. Admitted as Craven University Student, 1898—9.

C. D. Edmonds,	Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Elstree School. Admitted as Prendergast Student, 1898-9.
J. H. Marshall,	King's College, Cambridge. Admitted, 1898-9.
Clement Gutch,	King's College, Cambridge. Admitted, 1898-9.
F. B. Welch,	Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1898-9.
T. D. Atkinson,	Secretary of Cambridge Antiquarian Society. Admitted as Architectural Student, 1898-9.
J. K. Fotheringham,	Merton and Magdalen Colleges, Oxford. Admitted on appointment to Oxford Studentship, 1898-9.

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## ASSOCIATES OF THE SCHOOL.

Professor J. B. Bury,	Trinity College, Dublin. Admitted 1895-6.
Rev. A. H. Cruickshank,	The College, Winchester. Admitted 1895-6.
Arthur J. Evans,	Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Admitted 1895-6.
Ambrose Poynter,	Worked at subject of Mosaic. Admitted 1896-7.
J. E. Brooks,	A former Student of the School. Admitted 1896-7.
J. L. Myres,	Student of Christ Church, Oxford; a former Student of the School. Admitted 1896-7.
Professor E. A. Gardner,	Formerly Director of the School. Admitted 1897-8.

# RULES AND REGULATIONS

OF THE

## BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS.

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### OBJECTS OF THE SCHOOL.

I. The first aim of the School shall be to promote the study of Greek archæology in all its departments. Among these shall be (i) the study of Greek art and architecture in their remains of every period ; (ii) the study of inscriptions ; (iii) the exploration of ancient sites ; (iv) the tracing of ancient roads and routes of traffic.

II. Besides being a School of Archæology, it shall be also, in the most comprehensive sense, a School of Classical Studies. Every period of the Greek language and literature, from the earliest age to the present day, shall be considered as coming within the province of the School.

III. The School shall also be a centre at which information can be obtained and books consulted by British travellers in Greece.

IV. For these purposes a Library shall be formed and maintained of archæological and other suitable books, including maps, plans, and photographs.

### THE SUBSCRIBERS.

V. The following shall be considered as Subscribers to the School :—

- (1) Donors of £10 and upwards.
- (2) Annual Subscribers of £1 and upwards during the period of their subscription.
- (3) Corporate bodies subscribing £50 at one time or £5 annually.

VI. A corporate body subscribing not less than £50 a year, for a term of years, shall, during that term, have the right to nominate a member of the Managing Committee.

VII. A meeting of Subscribers shall be held in October of each year, at which each Subscriber shall have one vote. A subscribing corporate body may send a representative. At this meeting a report from the Managing Committee shall be presented, including a financial statement and selections from the reports of the Director and Students for the season. At this meeting shall also be annually elected or re-elected the Treasurer and the Secretary of the School, two Auditors, and four members of the Managing Committee, in place of those retiring, under Rule XIII. (3).

VIII. Special meetings of Subscribers may, if necessary, be summoned by the Managing Committee.

IX. Subscribers shall be entitled to receive a copy of any reports that may be published by the School, to use the Library, and to attend the public meetings of the School, whenever they may be in Athens.

### THE TRUSTEES.

X. The property of the School shall be vested in three Trustees, who shall be appointed for life, except as hereinafter provided. Vacancies in the number of Trustees shall be filled up at the annual meeting of the Subscribers.

XI. In the event of a Trustee becoming unfit, or incapable of acting, he may be removed from his office by a majority of three-fourths of those present at a special meeting of Subscribers summoned by the Managing Committee for that purpose, and another Trustee shall by the same majority be appointed in his place.

XII. In the event of the death or resignation of a Trustee occurring between two annual meetings, the Managing Committee shall have the power of nominating another Trustee to act in his place until the next annual meeting.

### THE MANAGING COMMITTEE.

XIII. The Managing Committee shall consist of the following :—

- (1) The Trustees of the School.
- (2) The Treasurer and Secretary of the School.
- (3) Twelve Members elected by the Subscribers at the annual meetings. Of these, four shall retire in each year, at first by lot, afterwards by rotation. Members retiring are eligible for re-election.
- (4) The members nominated by corporate bodies under Rule VI.

XIV. The Committee shall have control of all the affairs of the School, and shall decide any dispute that may arise between the Director and Students. They shall have power to deprive any Student of the use of the school-building.

XV. The Committee shall meet as a rule once in every two months ; but the Secretary or Treasurer may, with the approval of two members of the Committee, summon a special meeting when necessary.

XVI. Due notice of every meeting shall be sent to each member of the Committee by a summons signed by the Secretary. Three members of the Committee shall be a quorum.

XVII. In case of an equality of votes, the Chairman shall have a second or casting vote.

XVIII. In the event of vacancies occurring among the officers or on the Committee between the annual elections, they may be provisionally filled up by the Committee until the next annual meeting.

#### STUDENTS AND ASSOCIATES.

XIX. The Students shall consist of the following :—

- (1) Holders of travelling fellowships, studentships, or scholarships at any University of the United Kingdom or of the British Colonies.
- (2) Travelling Students sent out by the Royal Academy, the Royal Institute of British Architects, or other similar bodies.
- (3) Other persons who shall satisfy the Managing Committee that they are duly qualified to be admitted to the privileges of the School.

\* No person shall be admitted as a Student who does not intend to reside at least three months in Greek lands.

XX. Students attached to the School will be expected to pursue some definite course of study or research in a department of Hellenic studies, and to write in each season a report upon their work. Such reports shall be submitted to the Director, shall by him be forwarded to the Managing Committee, and may be published by the Committee if and as they think proper.

XXI. Intending Students are required to apply to the Secretary. They will be regarded as Students from the date of their admission by the Committee to the 31st day of October next following; but any Student admitted between July 1st and October 31st in any year shall continue to be regarded as a Student until October 31st of the following year.

XXII. The Managing Committee may elect as Associates of the School any persons actively engaged in study or exploration in Greek lands; and may also elect as honorary members such persons as they may from time to time think desirable.

XXIII. Students, Associates, and honorary members, shall have a right to use the Library of the School, and to attend all lectures given in connexion with the School, free of charge.

XXIV. Students shall be expected to reside in the Hostel provided for them, except with the sanction of the Managing Committee. Priority of claim to accommodation in the Hostel shall be determined by the Committee.

#### THE DIRECTOR.

XXV. The Director shall be appointed by the Managing Committee, on terms which shall be agreed upon at the time, for a period of not more than three years. He shall be eligible for re-election.

XXVI. He shall have possession of the school-building as a dwelling-house; but Students of the School shall have a right to the use of the Library at all reasonable times.

XXVII. It shall be his duty (1) to guide and assist the studies of Students and Associates of the School, affording them all the aid in his power, and also to see that reports are duly furnished by Students, in accordance with Rule XX., and placed in the hands of the Secretary before the end of June; (2) to act as Editor of the School Annual.

XXVIII. (a) Public Meetings of the School shall be held in Athens during the season, at which the Director and Students of the School shall read papers on some subject of study or research, and make reports on the work undertaken by the School. (b) The Director shall deliver lectures to Students of the School. At least six of such meetings and lectures shall be held in the course of each session.

XXIX. He may at his discretion allow persons, not Students of the School, to use the Library and attend his lectures.

XXX. He shall be resident at Athens from the beginning of November in each year to the end of the following June, but shall be at liberty to absent himself for short periods for purposes of exploration or research.

XXXI. At the end of each season he shall report to the Managing Committee—(i) on the studies pursued during the season by himself and by each Student; (ii) on the state of the School-premises and the repairs needed for them; (iii) on the state of the Library and the purchases of books, &c., which he may think desirable; and (iv) on any other matter affecting the interests of the School.

XXXII. In case of misconduct the Director may be removed from his office by the Managing Committee by a majority of three-fourths of those present at a meeting specially summoned for the purpose. Of such meeting at least a fortnight's notice shall be given.

RULES FOR THE MACMILLAN HOSTEL.

XXXIII. The Hostel shall be managed by the Students for the time being, subject to the control of the Director.

XXXIV. The Director shall have power to exclude a Student from the Hostel in case of misconduct ; but such exclusion must be immediately reported to the Managing Committee.

XXXV. The Students shall, until further notice, pay a fixed charge of 20 drachmas (paper) a week for their rooms, this payment to include fire, lighting, and the necessary servants' wages.

XXXVI. Associates of the School, members of the Committee, and ex-directors, may be admitted to residence in the Hostel. Other persons, if seriously engaged in study or research, may be admitted by the Director at his discretion. But no person shall reside in the Hostel under this rule to the exclusion of any Student desiring admission.

XXXVII. The weekly charge for residents other than Students shall be 30 drachmas (paper) until further notice.

XXXVIII. The Director shall draw up further rules for the internal management of the Hostel ; such rules to be subject to the approval of the Managing Committee.

RULES FOR THE LIBRARY.

XXXIX. The Director shall have power to make rules for the management of the Library, its use by Students, and the like ; such rules to be subject to the approval of the Managing Committee.

PUBLICATION.

XL. No publication whatever, respecting the work of the School, shall be made without the previous approval of the Committee.

THE FINANCES.

XLI. All money received on behalf of the School beyond what is required for current expenses shall be invested in the names and at the discretion of the Trustees.

XLII. The banking account of the School shall be placed in the names of the Treasurer and Secretary, who shall sign cheques jointly.

XLIII. The first claim on the revenue of the School shall be the maintenance and repair of the School-building, and the payment of rates, taxes, and insurance.

XLIV. The second claim shall be the salary of the Director, as arranged between him and the Managing Committee.

XLV. In case of there being a surplus, a sum shall be annually devoted to the maintenance of the Library of the School and to the publication of a report ; and a fund shall be formed from which grants may be made for travelling and excavation.

*Revised to November, 1899.*

MANAGING COMMITTEE, 1899—1900.

EDWIN FRESHFIELD, ESQ., LL.D.	} Trustees.
PROFESSOR JEBB, Litt.D., LL.D., M.P.	
PANDELI KALLI, ESQ.	
D. B. MONRO, ESQ., M.A., Provost of Oriel.	} Appointed by the University of Oxford.
PROFESSOR WILLIAM RIDGEWAY, M.A.	
SIDNEY COLVIN, ESQ., M.A.	
ARTHUR J. EVANS, ESQ., M.A.	} Appointed by the Subscribers.
PROFESSOR ERNEST GARDNER, M.A.	
PROFESSOR PERCY GARDNER, Litt.D.	
MISS JANE E. HARRISON, D.Litt., LL.D.	
F. HAVERFIELD, ESQ., M.A.	
GEORGE A. MACMILLAN, ESQ.	
J. LINTON MYRES, ESQ., M.A.	
PROFESSOR H. F. PELHAM, M.A., President of Trinity College, Oxford.	
F. C. PENROSE, ESQ., LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S.	
CECIL HARCOURT SMITH, ESQ., LL.D.	
PROFESSOR J. S. REID, Litt.D.	
PROFESSOR CHARLES WALDSTEIN, Litt.D.	

WALTER LEAF, ESQ., Litt.D., *Hon. Treasurer*, 6, Sussex Place, Regent's Park, N.W.

WILLIAM LORING, ESQ., M.A., *Hon. Secretary*, 2, Hare Court, Temple, E.C.

*Director, 1899—1900.*

DAVID GEORGE HOGARTH, ESQ., M.A., Fellow and late Tutor of Magdalen College, Oxford.

*Assistant-Director 1899—1900.*—R. C. BOSANQUET, ESQ., M.A.

## British School at Athens.

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THIS School (founded in 1886) gives to British Students of Greek Archæology and Art the opportunity of pursuing their researches in Greece itself, with command of the means which the recent great advances of the science have rendered indispensable.

Athens is every year becoming more and more the centre of the archæological world. The architecture of Greece can nowhere else be studied to such advantage; and the concentration in the Athenian museums of the numerous and most important discoveries which have taken place on Greek soil in the last few years has made a personal knowledge of them indispensable to a proper training; in particular, they may almost be said to hold a monopoly of the materials for the investigation of prehistoric and early archaic Art.

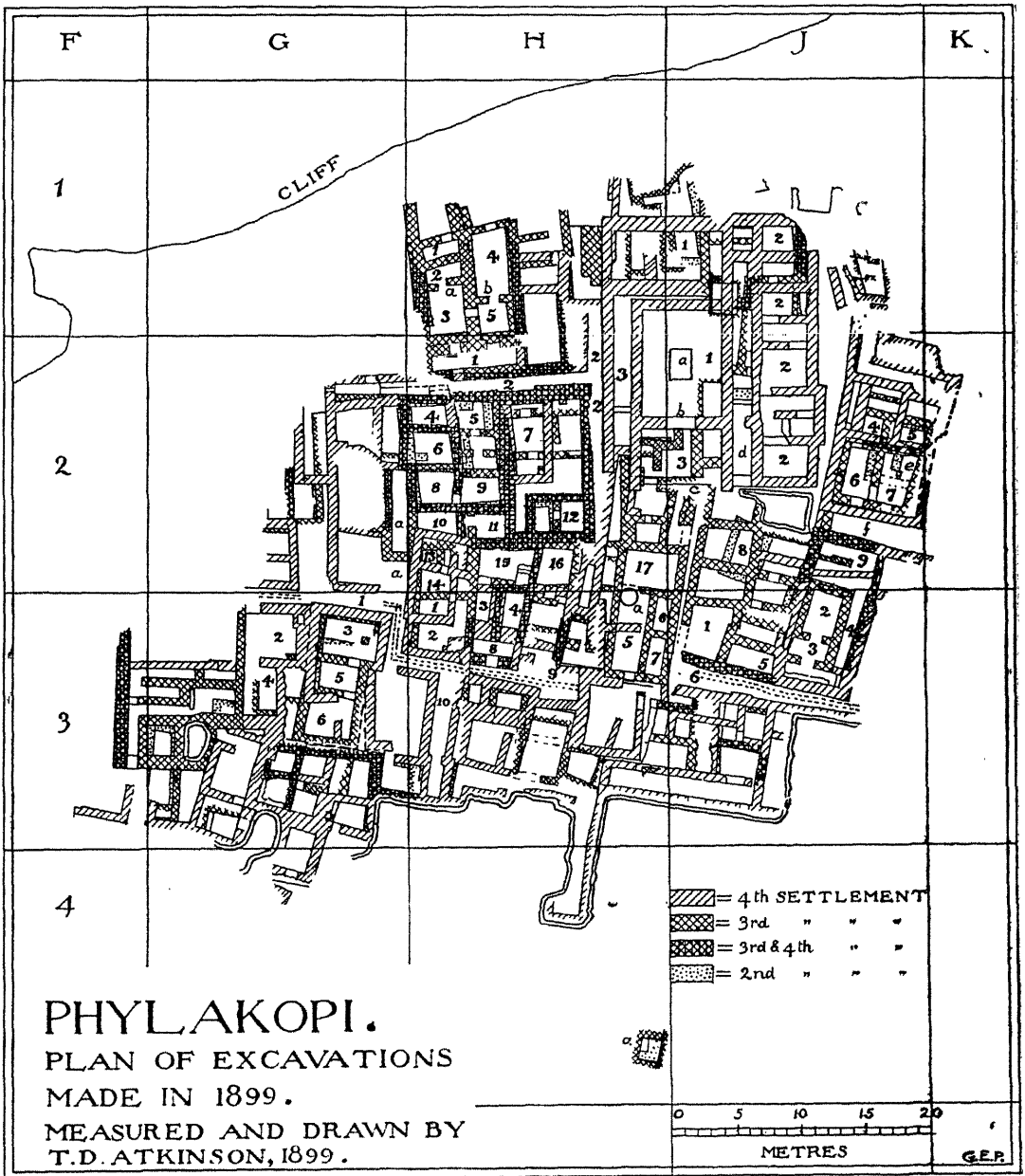
The student requires two auxiliaries when working in Athens—firstly, the command of an adequate library; and secondly, the advice of a trained archæologist, residing on the spot, and following the rapid advances of the science, due partly to new discovery and partly to the rearrangement of old materials.

These advantages are now provided for French, German, Austrian, American, and English archæologists, through the Schools which they have established. It is also by means of these Schools that most excavations on Greek soil have been carried out; and those conducted in Cyprus, in the Peloponnese, and in Melos by the British School during the past thirteen Sessions are an encouraging proof of the work that may be done in the future if the School is adequately supported.

Any persons who bring satisfactory testimonials of their qualifications are admitted as students free of charge. The principal conditions imposed are that they shall pursue some definite course of Hellenic study or research, residing for the purpose not less than three months in Greek lands, and that they shall at the end of the Session write a report of the work which they have done. Applications from intending students should be made to the Hon. Sec., WILLIAM LORING, Esq., 2, Hare Court, Temple, E.C. Mr. LORING will also be happy to supply any further information.

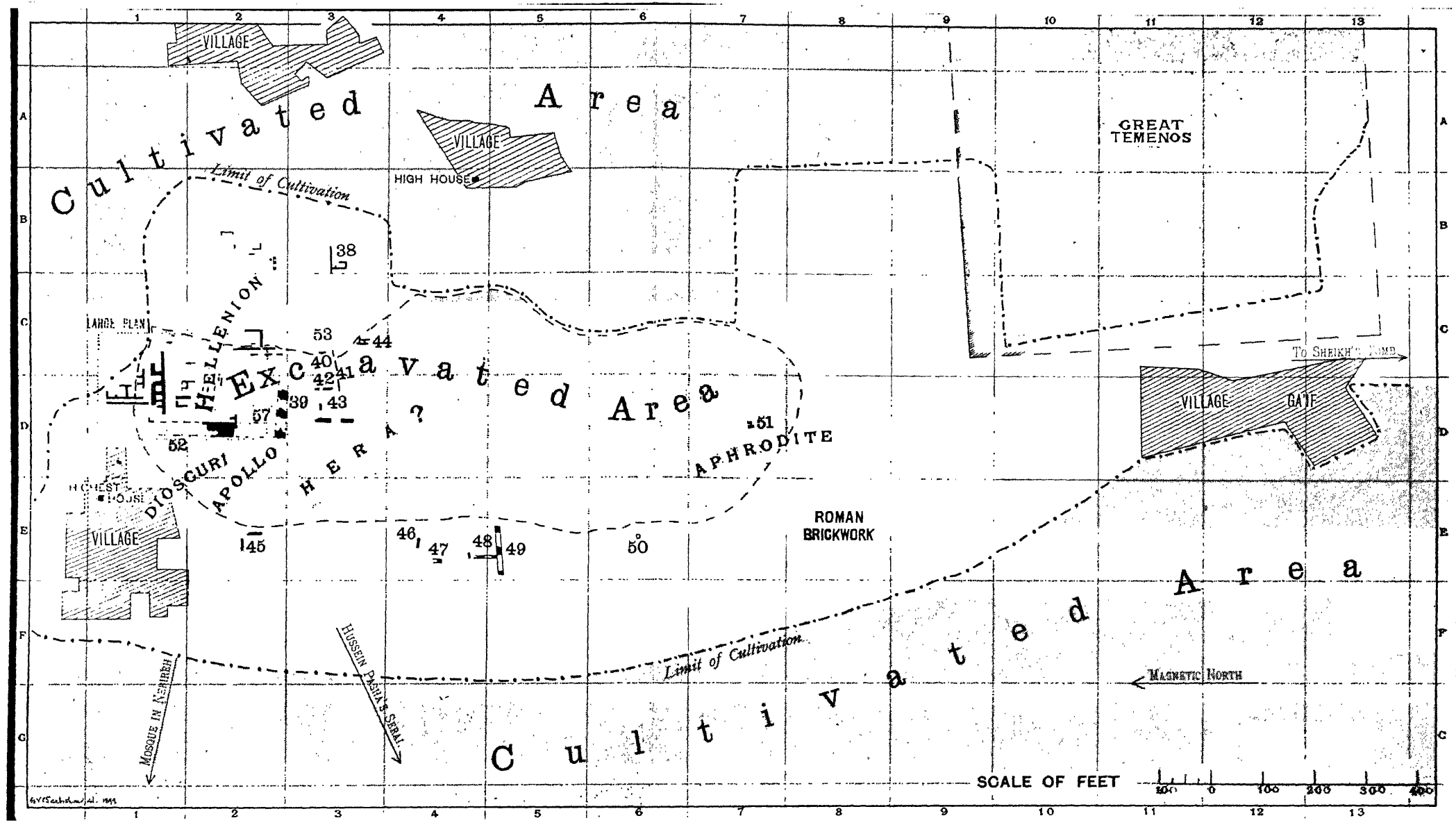
The present income of the School (including the grant of £500 from the Government) is about £1,400, of which a considerable part is secured only until next year. Substantial aid is therefore needed to maintain the School in a permanent state of efficiency. Donations or annual subscriptions will be gladly received and acknowledged by the Hon. Treasurer, WALTER LEAF, Esq., 6, Sussex Place, Regent's Park, N.W.

*November, 1899.*

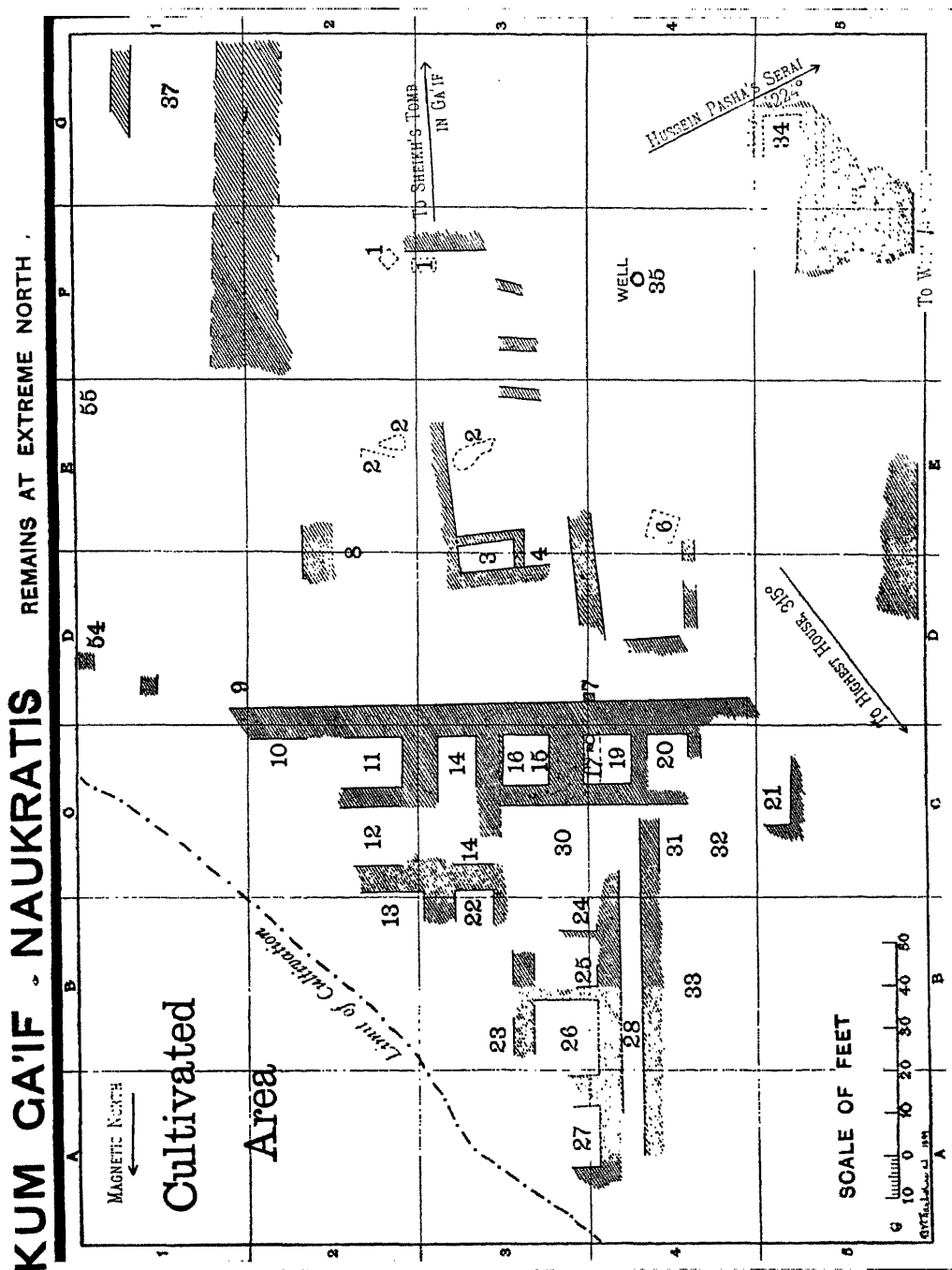




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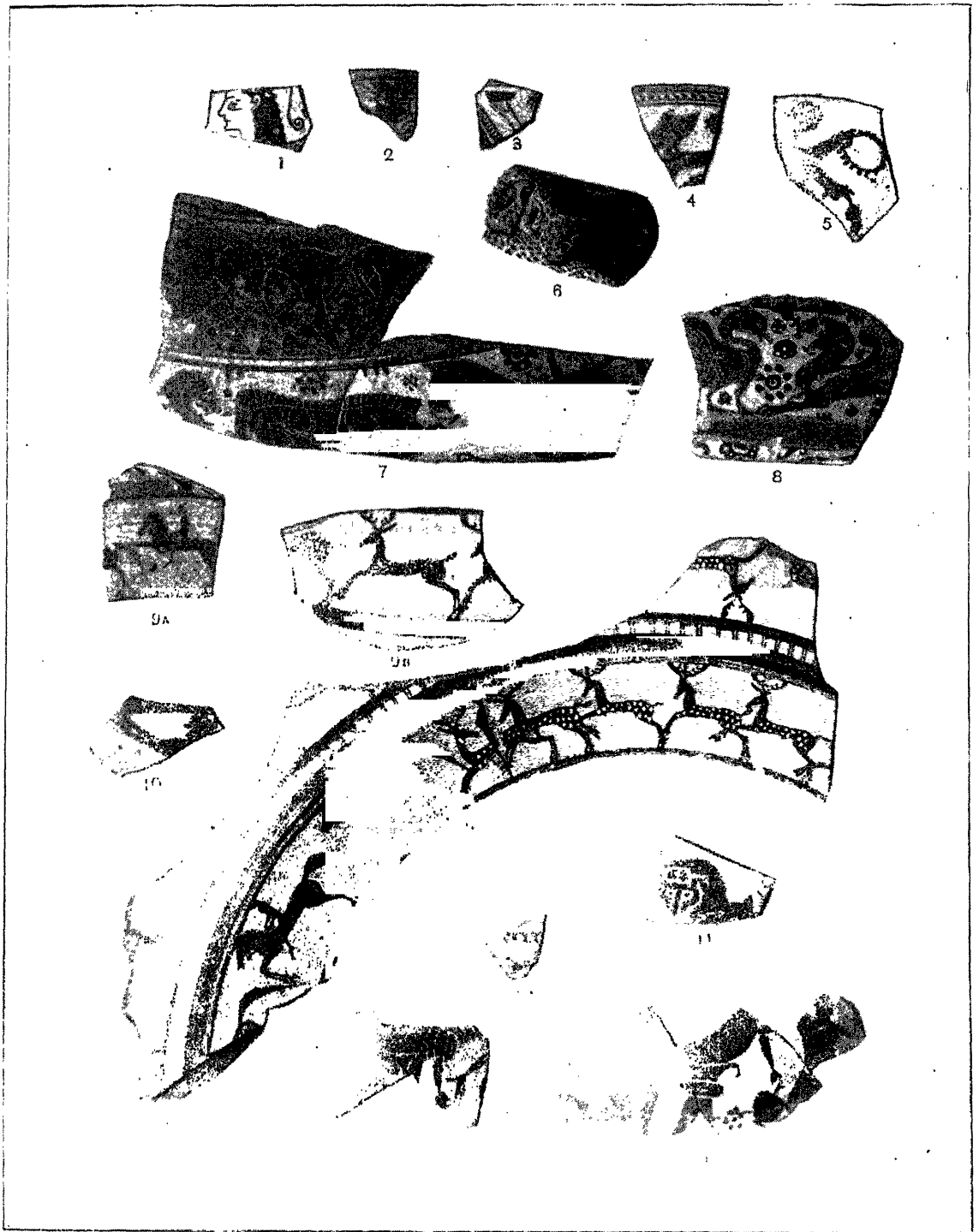


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 ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ 92 ΑΔΙΤΑΙΝΑ 93 ΑΝΤ 94  
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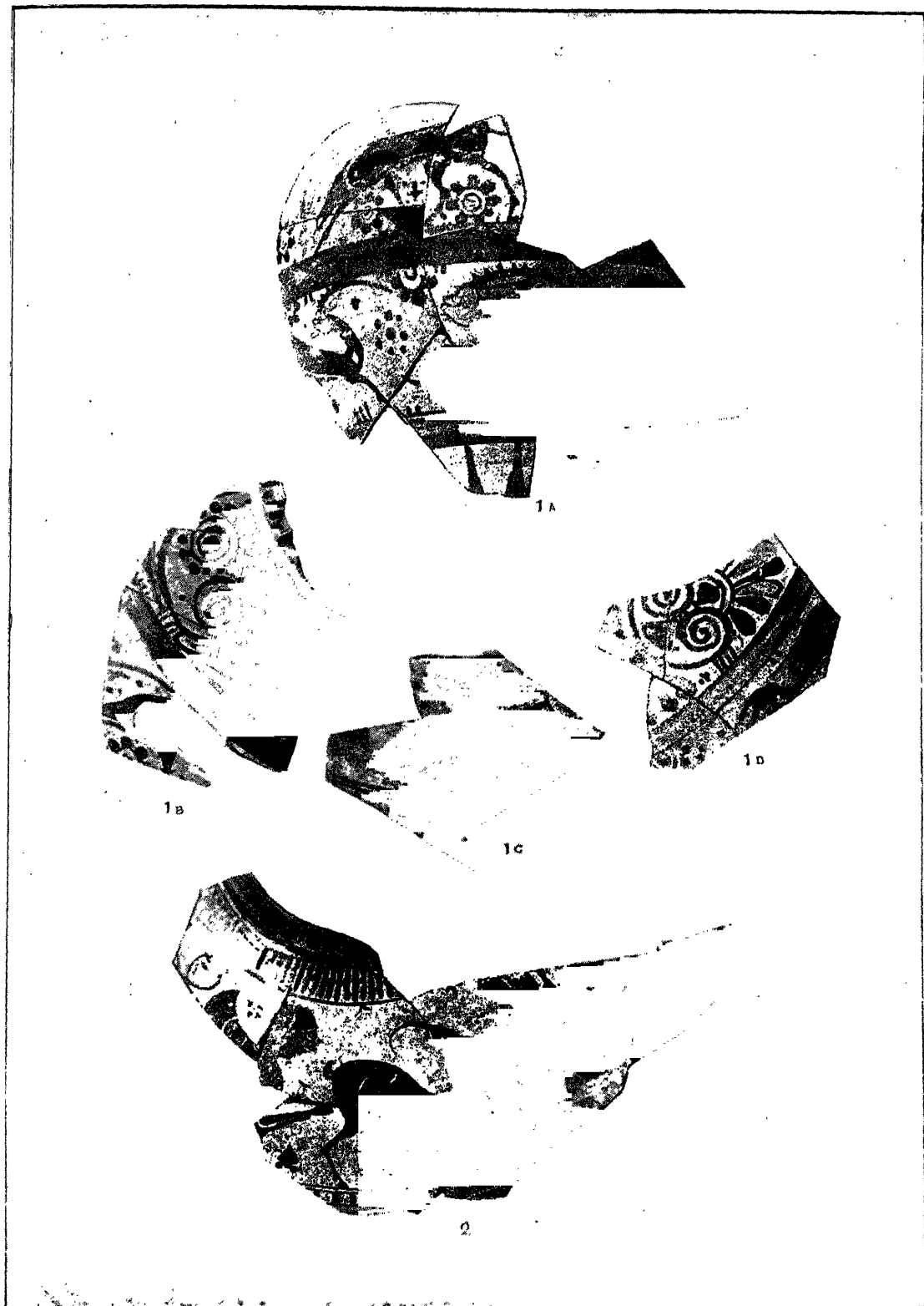
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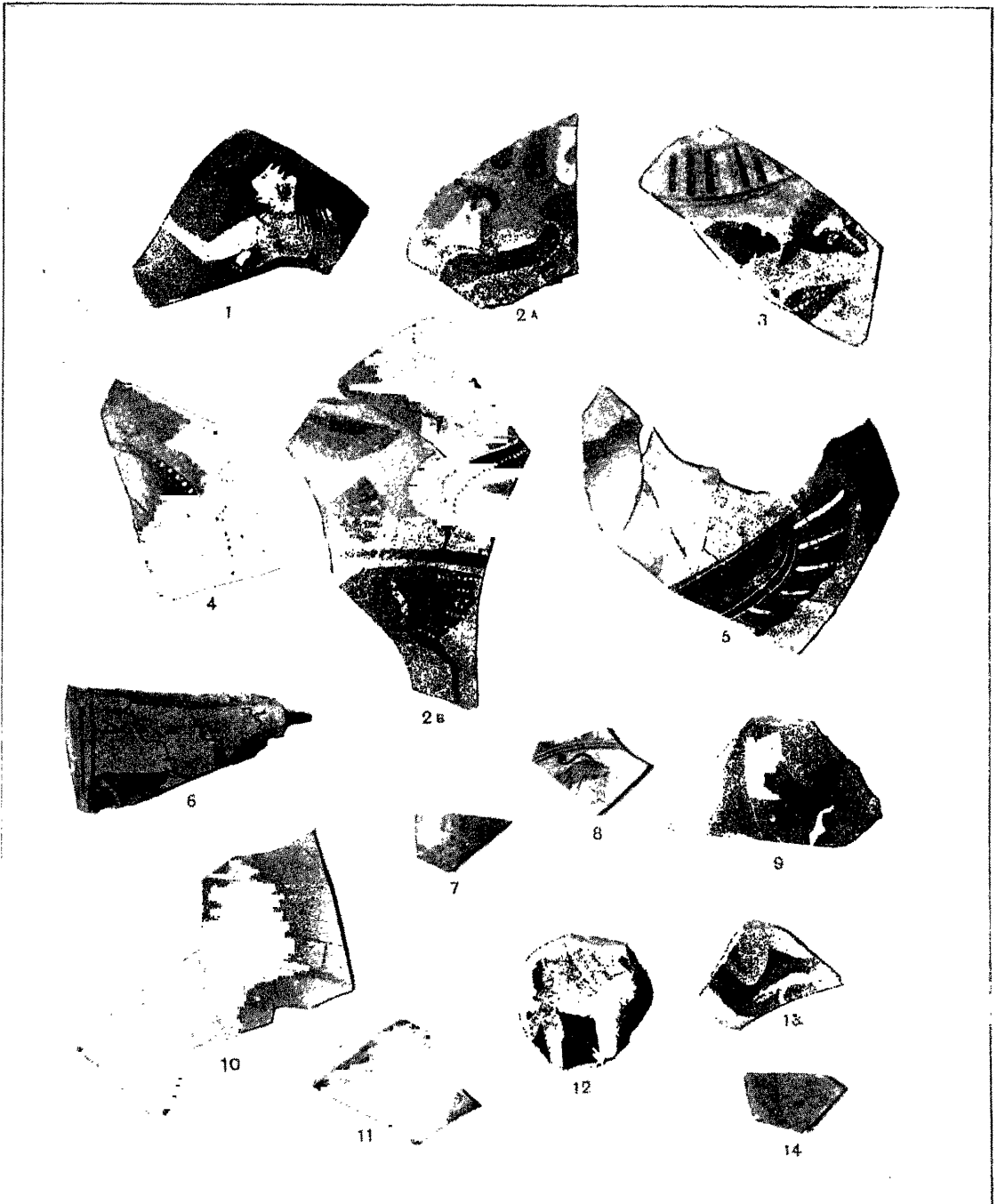
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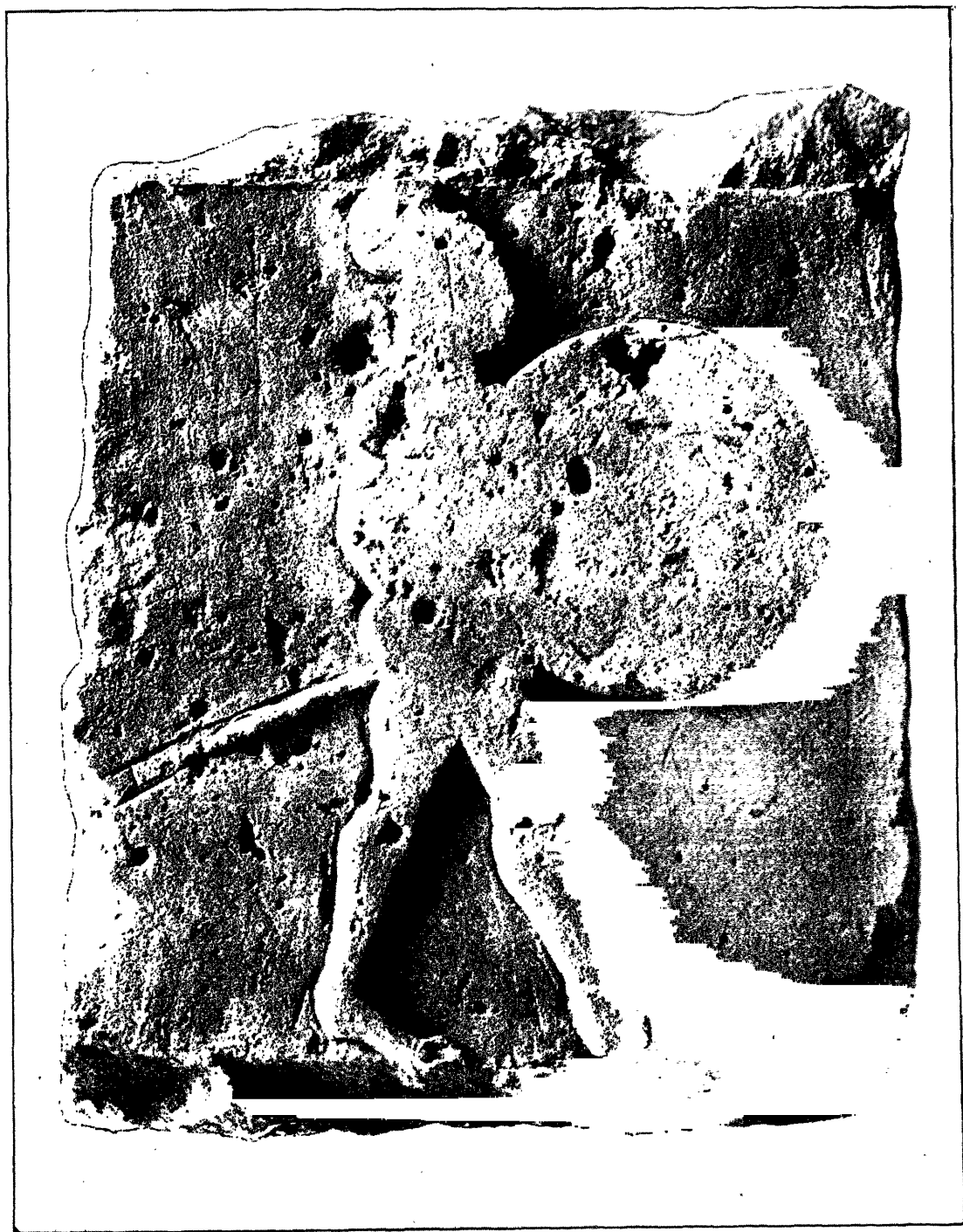
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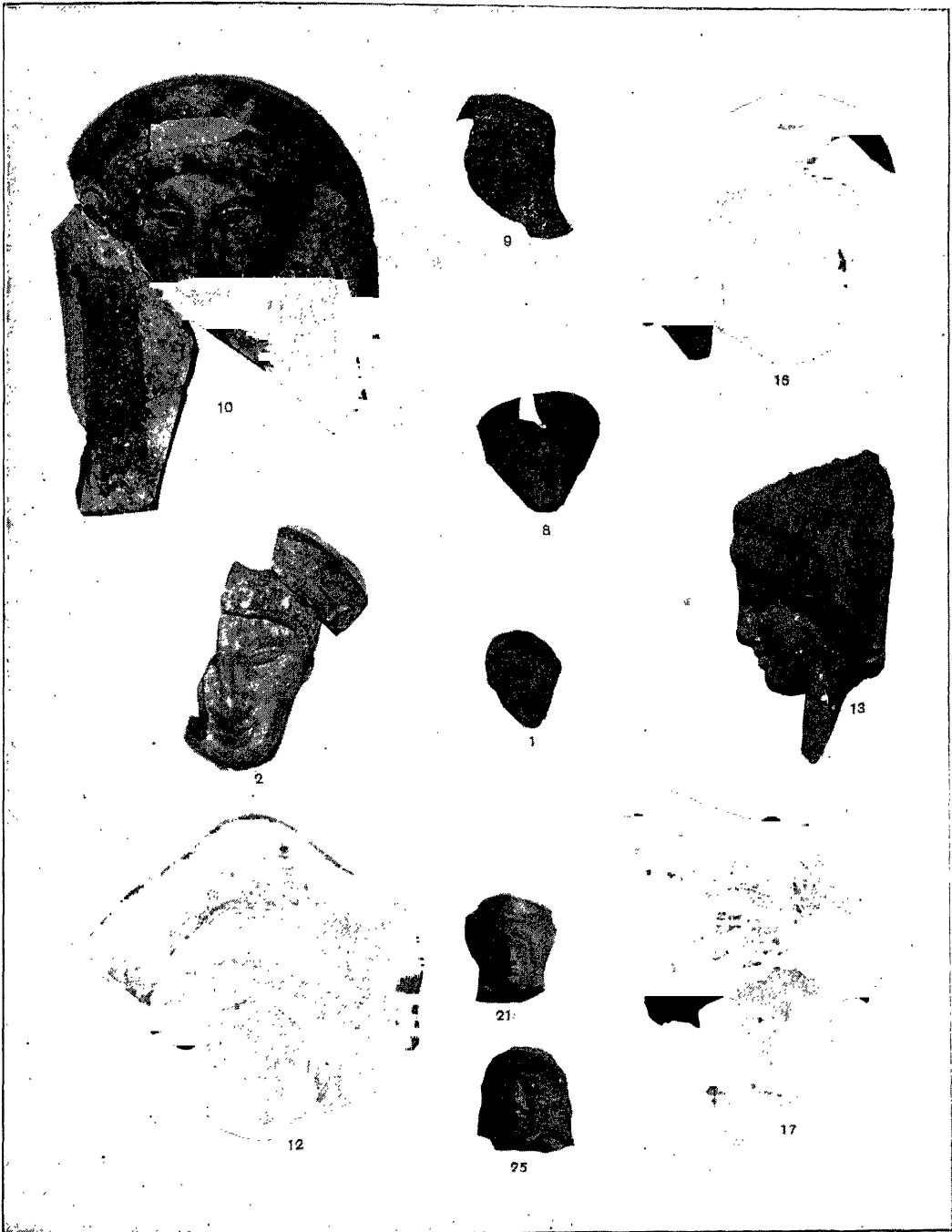
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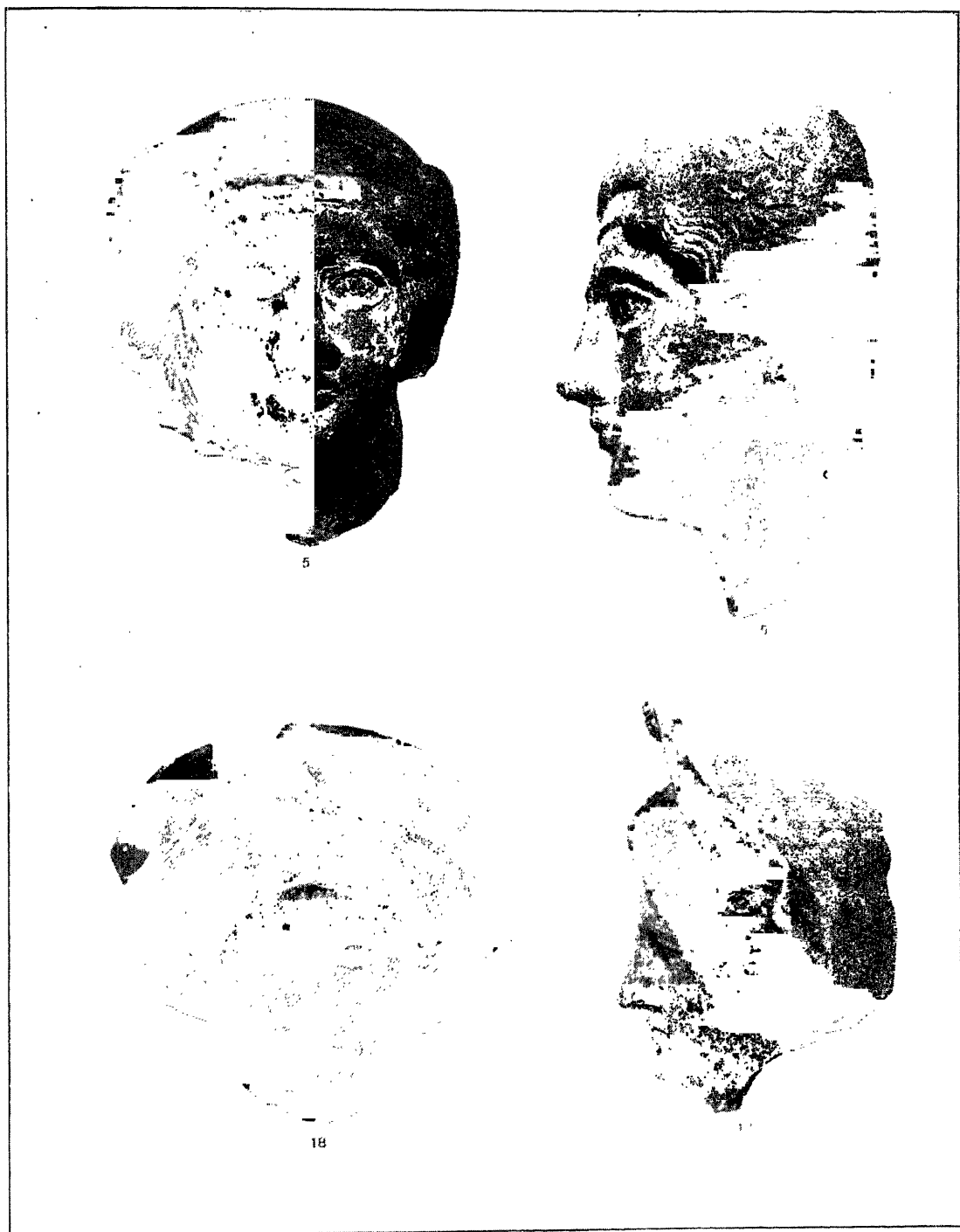
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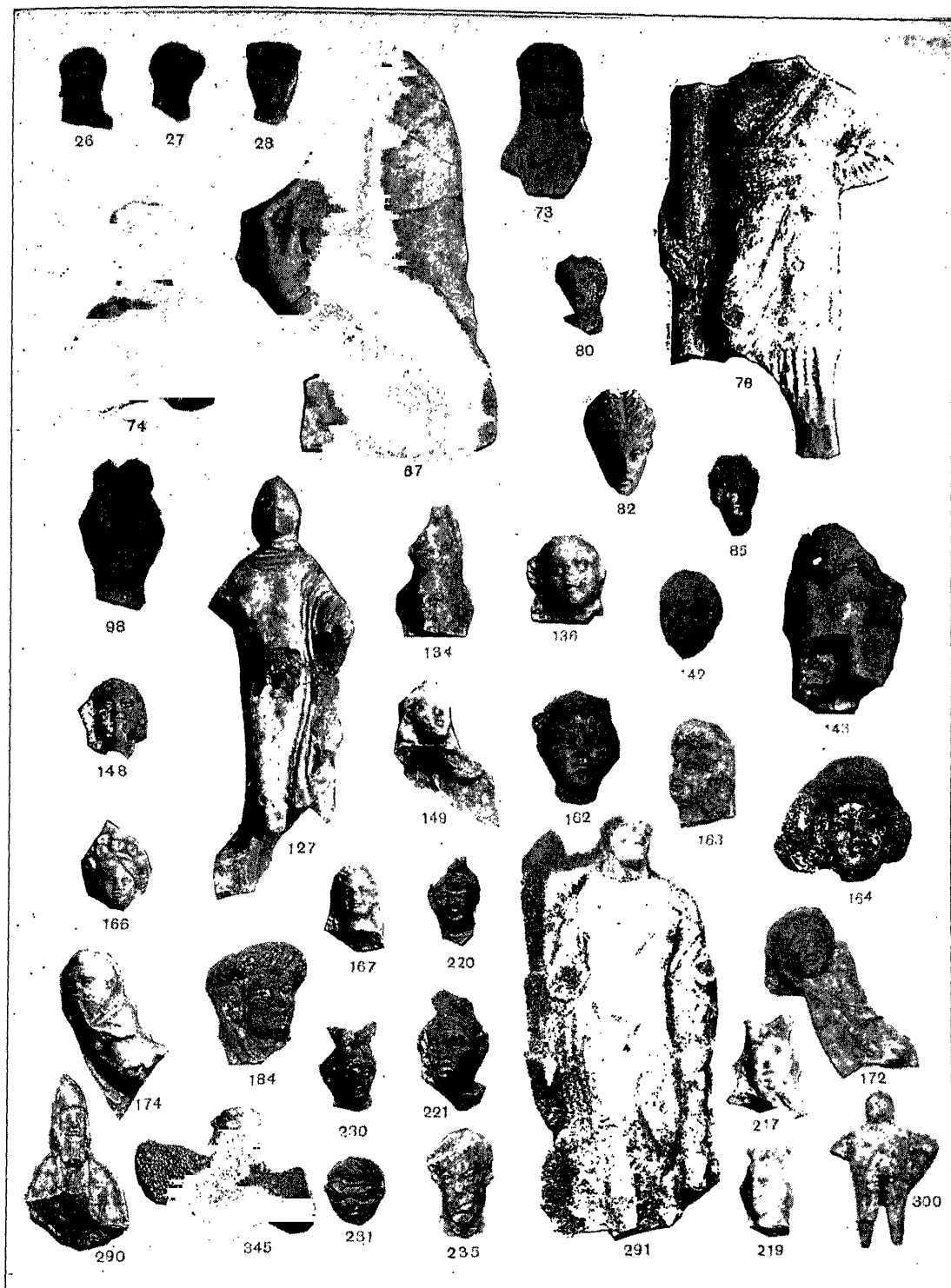
NAUKRATIS. TERRACOTTAS (scale about  $\frac{1}{3}$ )





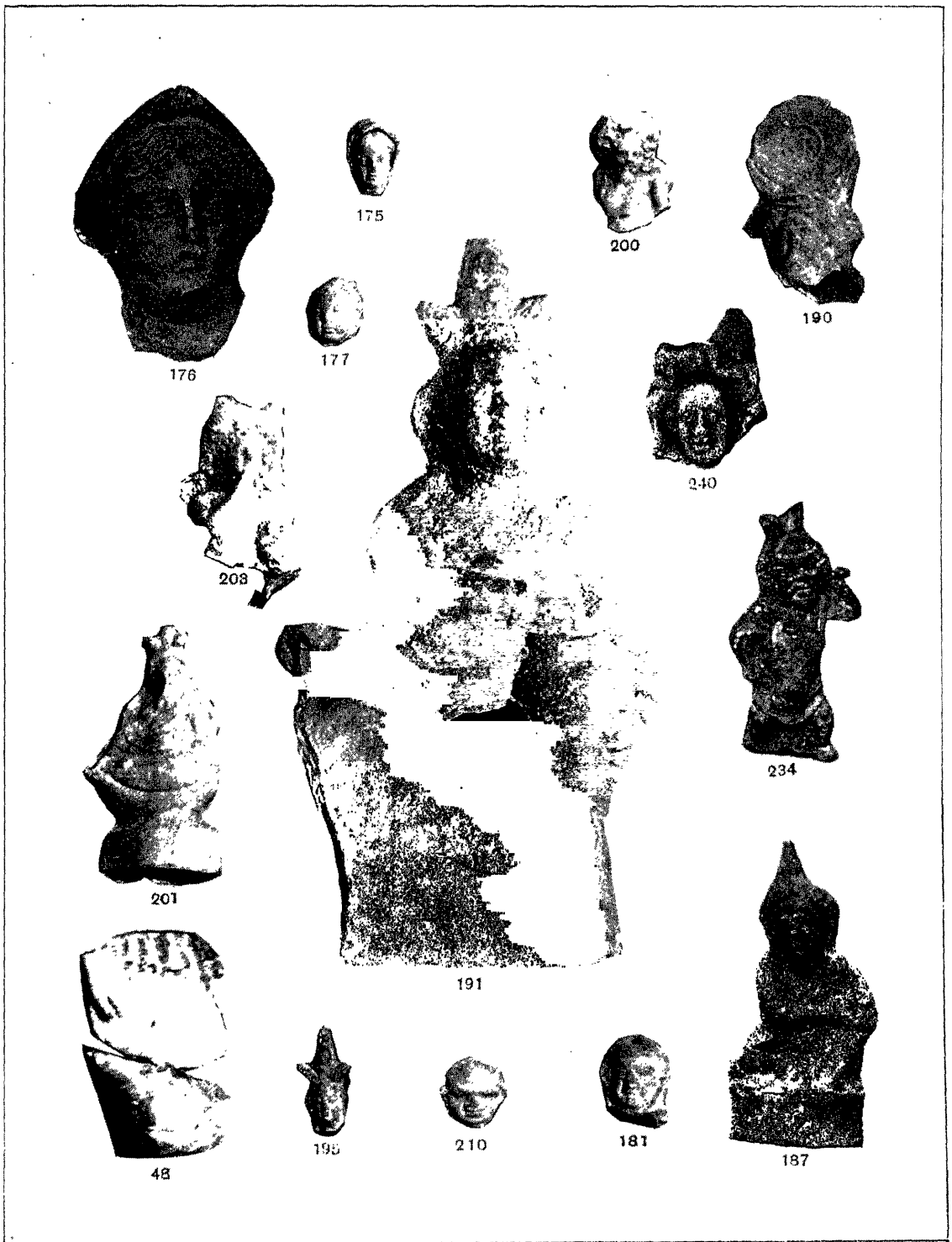
NAUKRATIS. TERRACOTTAS (scale about  $\frac{1}{3}$ ).





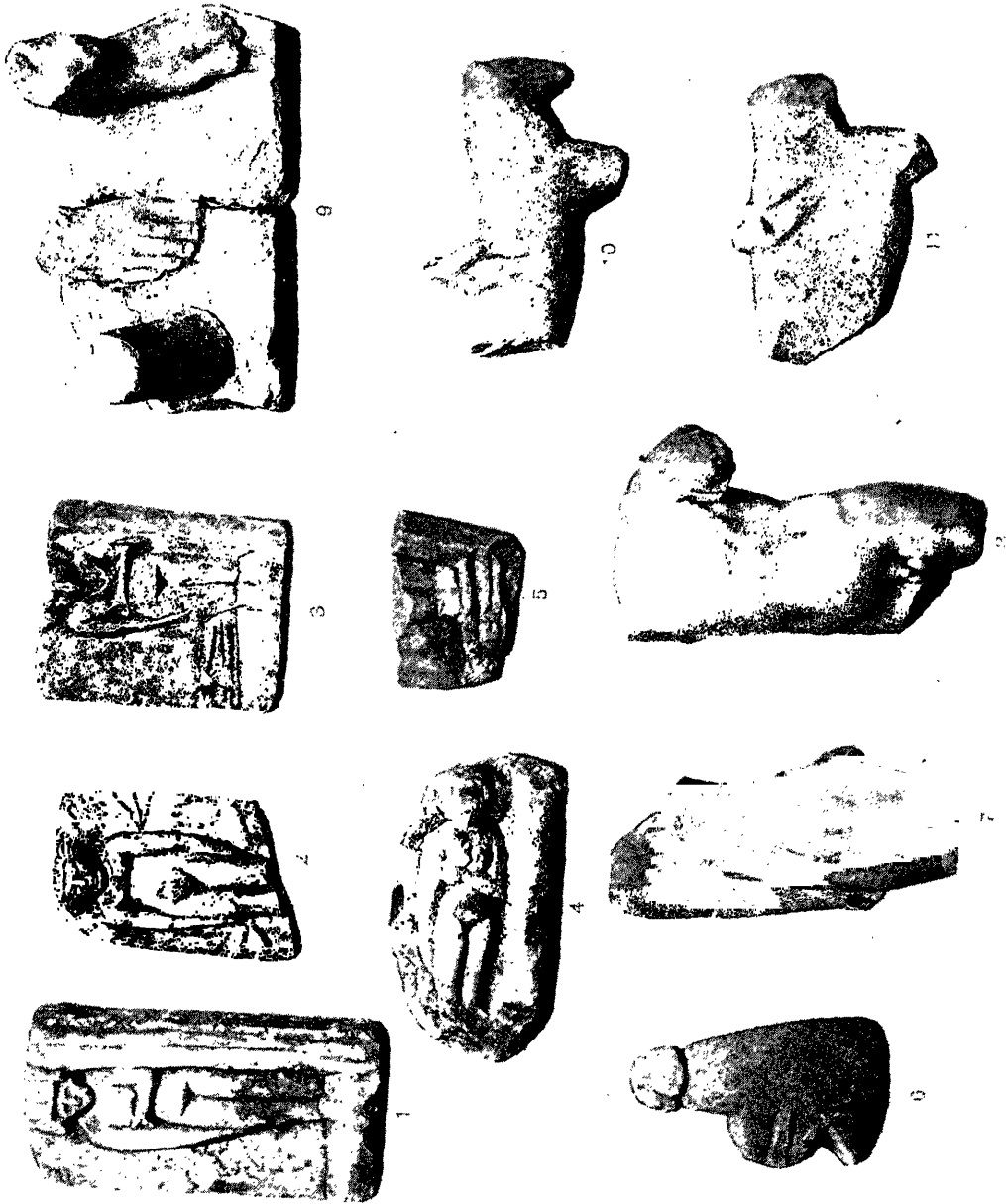
NAUKRATIS. TERRACOTTAS (scale about  $\frac{1}{3}$ ).





NAUKRATIS. TERRACOTTAS (scale about  $\frac{1}{3}$ ).





NAUKRATIS. STONE OBJECTS (scale about  $\frac{1}{3}$ ).

- 1 5. "Childbirth" dedications (*cf. Anik. I., p. 40*).
6. "Drummer" figure (*loc. cit.*).
7. Archaic male figure clad in short jerkin represented by red lines.
8. Marble torso of Eros, with holes behind for wings, and traces of purple paint.
9. Base of statuette dedicated to Herakles (*see p. 32*).
- 10, 11. Horsemen (*see pp. 30, 39, 55*).





*"A book that is shut is but a block"*

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